

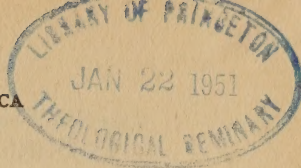
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JUDAS ISCARIOT

*A Scriptural and Theological Study of His Person,
His Deeds and His Eternal Lot*

This dissertation was conducted under the direction of Rev. Joseph L. Lilly, C.M., S.T.D., S.S.L., as major professor, and was approved by Rev. Edward P. Arbez, S.S., M.A., S.T.D., and Rev. William J. Lallou, M.A., S.T.D., Litt.D., as Readers.

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JUDAS ISCARIOT

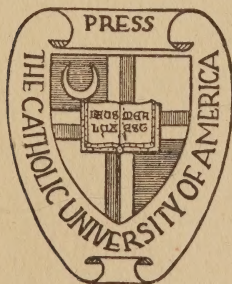
A SCRIPTURAL AND THEOLOGICAL STUDY OF HIS PERSON,
HIS DEEDS AND HIS ETERNAL LOT

A DISSERTATION

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THEOLOGY OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
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INTRODUCTION

THE Apostles of Christ are interesting people. Without exception, all the Apostles deserve to be known, if only because of their association with Christ, the Divine Redeemer. A study of their lives reveals the tremendous influence they have exerted upon mankind. Early historians have devoted space in their records to include an account of their glorious deeds; ascetics and theologians have discussed at length their virtues; and the Church has canonized them as saints. However, an individual belonging to the Apostolic College failed to merit the glory that has been showered upon the remaining faithful disciples of Christ. He is Judas Iscariot, the betrayer of the Lord. Although he fell away from the place in the ministry and the Apostleship (Acts 1:25), yet his defection found a place in the divine scheme of Redemption. He betrayed the Messiah that the Scriptures might be fulfilled.

The accord with which the Apostles were received by men of all ages leaves no room for doubt that they have led glorious lives. But ever since the treason of the twelfth-named Apostle, the memory of Judas Iscariot was largely neglected. We know distressingly little of his antecedents, his parentage, his early life and his occupation. Here and there, scattered incidentally through the pages of the New Testament, the Sacred Record discloses a few stray bits of information concerning his character, his deeds and his final lot. The Scripture narratives do not pretend to be final and complete. It remains for us only to turn aside the veil of the Gospel story in order to form an accurate picture of the man.

The Gospel narrative, along with the brief account given in the Acts of the Apostles, has been the primary source of information. Traditions about his early life and death abound. Only few of such traditions are at all reliable and, in the case of many of them, they have been designed by early Christians to make Judas Iscariot appear before the world as a venal betrayer and the vilest of criminals.

Every word written about Judas Iscariot has become a battle-

ground on which scholars of all ages have matched learning against learning and have launched theory against theory, until it seems at times that the battlefield itself has become obscured in the conflict.

There remains only to say a word as to the purpose of this study. It is an endeavor to supply a want which has been felt by many students of the New Testament. The literature on the subject is not enormous, and its chief points have been compendiously treated in Biblical Dictionaries, Commentaries and Lives of Christ. But, hitherto, no study has placed within the reach of the student of the New Testament the information required in the way of a general sketch of the life of Judas Iscariot. Recently, Doctor Donatus Haugg (*Judas Iskarioth in den neutestamentlichen Berichten*, 1930) has issued an excellent monograph on this subject. The present work, however, aims to supply the topics left undeveloped by Doctor Haugg. Hence, the following points are discussed at greater length and in detail: the etymology of the sobriquet "Iscariot," the classification of the motives of betrayal, the absence of the false disciple at the Institution of the Holy Eucharist and his eternal lot.

A further directive has been indicated by the Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, who in his Encyclical Letter, "Divino Afflante Spiritu" (AAS., 35 (1943) 310), recommends the use of modern research in history, philology and related sciences to explain the Bible. But he is far from considering this to be the major function of any work which deals with the Gospel message. He declares that Catholics, while not neglecting the fruits of research on philology and history, should set forth in particular the theological content of individual passages. Hence, it is the aim of the author to present the life of Judas Iscariot both from the theological and scriptural standpoint as well as to correlate the entire study with the Mystery of Redemption.

I wish here to acknowledge my heartfelt thanks to the Superiors of the Province of the Assumption of the B.V.M. for the opportunity to pursue graduate studies. My debt of gratitude is likewise due to Reverend Joseph L. Lilly, C.M., S.T.D., S.S.L. for suggesting the topic of the dissertation and for his careful direction of the work. To Reverend Edward P. Arbez,

S.S., M.A., S.T.D., Reverend Patrick W. Skehan, S.T.D., and Reverend Theodore C. Petersen, C.S.P., Ph.D., S.T.L. I am indebted for their judicious criticisms and helpful suggestions.

EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AmER</i>	<i>American Ecclesiastical Review</i> (Later, <i>The Ecclesiastical Review</i>)
<i>AmJPhil</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AmJTh</i>	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>ClRev</i>	<i>Clergy Review</i>
<i>CSCO</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
<i>D.B.</i>	Denzinger-Bannwart-Umberg, <i>Enchiridion Symbolorum</i>
<i>E.B.</i>	<i>Enchiridion Biblicum</i>
<i>Exp</i>	<i>The Expositor</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>The Expository Times</i>
<i>H.J.</i>	<i>The Hibbert Journal</i>
<i>HThRev</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>JBLit</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JThSt</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>MPL</i>	<i>Migne, Patrologia Latina</i>
<i>MPG</i>	<i>Migne, Patrologia Graeco-Latina</i>
<i>PEFQSt</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement</i>
<i>R.B.</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>R.E.J.</i>	<i>Revue des Études Juives</i>
<i>ThLit</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>ThQ</i>	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
<i>V.D.</i>	<i>Verbum Domini</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins</i>
<i>ZKTh</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>
<i>ZNtW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZWTh</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

“(Christus) tradi se pertulit ut redimeret nos.” (S. Aug.,
In Jn. Evang. XXVII, 10 MPL 35, 1620).

‘Ο (Χριστὸς) μὲν γὰρ παραδοθεὶς τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔσωσεν. (S. Jn.
Chrys., De Prod. Judae, hom. I, 1 MPG 49, 373).

CHAPTER I

THE NAME "JUDAS"

THE name *Judas* is derived from the Hebrew root *yādāh*, which in the Kal and Piel signifies *to throw, to cast*, e.g. stones.¹ In the Hiphil the root is connected with the meaning *to profess, to confess*, properly, *rem projicere, verba proferre*. Perhaps it is equivalent, as Gesenius aptly remarks, to "point out with the hand extended, as if, with the hand thrown out."² In a number of passages of the O.T., the Hiphil conjugation also carries the notion of *to give thanks, to praise*.³ The name *y^hudāh*, or *Judas*, is a verbal noun derived from the Hiphil passive, i.e., the imperfect Hophal of the same root (*yādāh*), so that it means *praised, celebrated, lauded*.⁴ That such is the meaning of the Hophal imperfect is evidenced by its usage in Gen. 29:35: "The

¹ Gesenius, G., *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti*, s.v. *yadāh*, Vol. 2, p. 565. Cfr. also Jer. 50:14; Lam. 3:53; Zach. 2:4.

² Gesenius, G., *loc. cit.* Cfr. Prov. 28:13; Ps. (Heb.) 32:5. Except when otherwise stated, the biblical references in the present study are to the following editions: the O.T. in Hebrew, Kittel; the LXX, Swete; the Vulgate, Gramatica; the N.T. in Greek, Merk; the O.T. in English, Douay Version; the N.T. in English, the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine Version.

³ Gesenius, G., *loc. cit.* Cfr. Gen. 29:35; 3 Kgs. 8:33; Jer. 33:11; Ps. (Heb.) 7:18; 30:13; 54:8; 92:2; 106:1,47; 122:4; I Par. 16:7,8; 2 Esd. 12:24,46.

⁴ Gesenius, G., *op. cit.*, s.v. *y^hudah*, Vol. 2, p. 569. In Assyrian inscriptions, *ameluti Ia-u-du* (Judean men) are identified with the tribe of Judah. So Jastrow, Jr., M., "The Men of Judah in the El-Amarna Tablets, in *JBLit.*, Vol. 12 (1893), p. 61ff. A. T. Olmstead (History of Palestine and Syria, p. 250) thinks that the etymology of *Y^huda* is connected with *Yahweh* worship, so that "perhaps *Yehudah* really means 'Yahweh knows.'" W. F. Albright ("The Names 'Israel' and 'Judah' with an Excursus on the Etymology of *Tōdāh* and *Tōrāh*," in *JBLit.*, Vol. 46 (1927), p. 178) is of the opinion that *Y^hudāh* is a very ancient and probably a pre-Mosaic tribal name. "The name has an early form, belonging with a group of proper names with passive verbal elements, found only in personal names, as well as in still earlier place-names."

fourth time she conceived and bore a son, and said: now I will praise ('ōdeh) the Lord: and for this she called him Juda (y^ehudāh)."

A. OTHER JUDASES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT⁵

JUDAS, THE ANCESTOR OF CHRIST. The first Judas mentioned in the N.T. is the ancestor of Christ, given in the genealogical table of St. Matthew (1:2,3) and St. Luke (3:26,30,33).

JUDE, THE BROTHER OF THE LORD.⁶ This Jude was an Apostle and known by three distinct names, viz., Jude,⁷ Thaddaeus and Lebbaeus,⁸ for it was not uncommon for the same person to bear more than one name.⁹ The name Lebbaeus is derived either from *lēbh*, *heart*, whose probable meaning would be: "*Jude the courageous, or the man of heart*"; or from *lēbhi*, *lion*.¹⁰ The prophecy

⁵ It may be mentioned briefly that in the O.T. there appear upon the scene of biblical history several men who bore the name of Judas. The first is Juda, the fourth son of Jacob by Lia (Gen. 29:35). Another Judas, a Jew holding a very important position in Jerusalem, is mentioned in 2 Mach. 1:10-18. 1 Mach. 11:70 speaks of a certain Judas, the son of Calphi and the chief captain of the army, who stood on the side of Jonathan against the forces of Demetrius. Another Judas, son of Simon, was one of the two eldest sons of Simon the Machabee (1 Mach. 16:2). In the long list of heroic Jews, we meet with no more striking personality than that of Judas Machabee (1 and 2 Mach. passim). Other bearers of this name in the O.T. are the following: Judas, a Levite, enumerated among the names of the guilty who had taken strange wives and were ordered by Esdras to put them away (1 Esd. 10:23); a Benjamite in the time of the return from the captivity (2 Esd. 11:9); one of the chiefs of the people in the time of Esdras who came up with Zorobabel from the Babylonian exile (2 Esd. 12:32-33); and a player of musical instruments who also came up with Zorobabel from the captivity (2 Esd. 12:35).

⁶ See Ermoni, V., "Jude," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Vigouroux).

⁷ 'Ιούδας in Mt. 13:55; Lk. 6:16; Acts 1:13; Jude 1; but 'Ιούδα in Mk. 6:3.

⁸ Mk. 3:18 and Mt. 10:3 have Δεββαῖος; D k Or read Δεββ. ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θεοδδ. rel. pl. syph ar gg.

⁹ Double names are not altogether unknown in the Sacred Scriptures, e.g. Jerobaal Gedeon (Jdgs. 8:35); Azarias Osias (4 Kgs. 14:21; 2 Par. 26:1); John Gaddis, Simon Thasi, Judas Machabeus, Eleazar Abaron, Jonathan Apphus (1 Mach. 2:2-5); Simon Peter (Mt. 16:16); Joseph Barnabas (Acts 4:36); John Mark (Acts 12:12,25); Judas Barsabbas (Acts 15:22).

¹⁰ Cave, W., *Lives of the Apostles*, p. 427; Knabenbauer, J., S.J., *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), I, 2, p. 433.

that Juda should be as a lion probably may have been the reason why this name was given to the Apostle Jude (cfr. Gen. 49:9). Isho'dad of Merv¹¹ and John Lightfoot¹² conjecture that the name might have had its origin from the place of St. Jude's nativity, being Lebba in Galilee near Mount Carmel. Although John Lightfoot refers us to Pliny's *Natural History* for this place-name, Loeb's critical edition, however, reads Geba and not Lebba.¹³ St. Jerome¹⁴ thinks that Lebbaeus signifies *corculum*, a small heart. As for the name Thaddaeus, it was not unknown to the Talmudists.¹⁵ *Tade* derived from the Aramaic *tad* (Hebrew *šad*) means chest. Dalman¹⁶ claims it to be of Greek origin, Θεδᾶς. Allen¹⁷ prefers the Gospel reading of Θαδδαῖος as more correct, and avers that some later hand substituted Ἀεββαῖος in the Western text as a more fitting name for an Apostle.

To remove all possibility of confusing this Jude with Judas Iscariot, the Evangelists are diligent enough in distinguishing him from the betrayer of the Lord. Whenever he is mentioned in the Gospel, the explanation of "Judas, not Iscariot" (Jn. 14:22) or "Judas the brother of James" (Lk. 6:16; Acts 1:13; Jude 1) is invariably affixed after the name.

Jude the Apostle is identified with "Judas, the brother of

¹¹ Gibson, M. D., edited and translated by, *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv*, Vol. 4, Acts of the Apostles and Three Catholic Epistles (Horae Semiticae, no. X), p. 5: "Now Lebbaeus is not the name of a man, but the name of his village; to say that he is a Lebbaean, and from this it is evident that Thaddai and James were Lebbaeans, that is to say from Lebba; and the father of Thaddai was James, and the father of James was Halfai. But the name of Thaddai was once 'Judah,' and at the last, in his discipleship, his name was changed, and he was called 'Thaddai.'"

¹² Lightfoot, J., *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Euangelium Matthaei* (Opera Omnia), Vol. 2, p. 313.

¹³ Pliny, *Natural History*, V, 17, ed. Loeb, no. 75, p. 278.

¹⁴ S. Hieronymus, *Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis*, MPL 23, 841; *Commentarius in Euangelium S. Matthaei*, I, 10, MPL 26, 61.

¹⁵ Lightfoot, J., *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ Dalman, G., *Wörter Jesu*, p. 40; *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, p. 179.

¹⁷ Allen, W. C., *Gospel according to St. Matthew* (International Critical Commentary), p. 100. See further, Nestle, E., "Thaddeus," in *Dictionary of the Bible* (Hastings), Vol. 4, pp. 741-42; Muir, W., "Lebbaeus," in *Dictionary of the Bible* (Hastings), Vol. 3, pp. 92-93.

James" (Lk. 6:16; Acts 1:13). In view of the inscription of Jude's Epistle (Jude 1), 'Ιούδας 'Ιακώβου means "brother of James" rather than "son of James."¹⁸ He is identified as one of the Twelve¹⁹ and is numbered among the brethren of the Lord²⁰ who are known to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 9:5) and to the Galatians (Gal. 1:19). He is also among those brethren of the Lord who did not fully believe in the Messiah till after the Resurrection (Jn. 7:3-5; Acts 1:6,14).

From a tradition preserved by Nicephorus Callistus²¹ we learn that he was married, his wife being Mary the mother of James and Josés, and his mother Solomé.

Eusebius²² informs us that soon after the Ascension of our Lord, St. Thomas sent him to Abgar, governor of Edessa, where he wrought many miracles of healing, expounded the doctrine of Christ, and converted Abgar and his people to Christianity. As a gesture of appreciation for Jude's untiring labors among the subjects of Abgar, the toparch offered him vast gifts and presents. He refused them, saying that "If we have left our own things, how shall we take those of others?"

Jude the Apostle is said to have preached in Judea and Galilee, evangelized Samaria and Idumea, visited the cities of Arabia and the neighboring countries and, thence, to have gone into Syria and Mesopotamia. Nicephorus Callistus relates that he came last to Edessa, and thinks that another Thaddaeus, who was one of "the seventy," was there before him. The Apostle Jude completed the work which the former had begun and died

¹⁸ So A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, p. 501. Otherwise, "son" is the word usually to be supplied in the genitives of relationship, as in Mt. 4:21; Jn. 6:71; 21:15; Acts 13:22; 20:4.

¹⁹ Mt. 10:3; Knabenbauer, J., S. J., *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), I, 2, p. 433.

²⁰ Mt. 13:55; Mk. 6:3; Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 19 and 20, ed. Loeb, pp. 236, 238; A. G. M. (not otherwise identified), "The Kinsfolk of Christ," in *CIRev.*, Vol. 33 N. S. (1943), pp. 341-56.

²¹ Nicephorus Callistus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, I, 33, ed. F. Ducaei, Vol. 1, p. 114; *ibid.*, II, 3, Vol. 1, p. 135.

²² Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, I, 13, ed. Loeb, pp. 84-96. Cfr. also S. Hieronymus, *Commentaria in Evangelium S. Matthaei*, I, 10, MPL 26, 61.

in Edessa.²³ Bishop Dorotheus has him slain at Berytus and buried there. But, by the almost unanimous consent of ecclesiastical writers, he is said to have travelled into Persia. After having reproved the superstitious rites and usages of the Magi, he concluded his apostolic life with the crown of martyrdom.²⁴

JUDAS OF GALILEE. He is mentioned by Gamaliel (Act 5:37) as the leader of a Jewish revolt against Rome by opposing the enrollment of the people made by Cyrenius in Judea. The taxation excited the bitter hatred of the Jews towards Rome who were later pacified by the intercession of the high priest Joazar.²⁵ Together with a Pharisee named Saddoc, Judas of Galilee called the people to rebel and to defend their liberties, bidding them to acknowledge no dominion except that of God. His followers, called Zealots, chose rather to suffer extreme torments than to call any power on earth lord or master.²⁶ The Acts of the Apostles (5:37) call this Judas a Galilean, Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος.²⁷ Josephus, in his *Jewish Antiquities*, XVIII, i, 1, informs us that he came from the city of Gamala, on the east side of the river Jordan in Gaulanitis. Thus, it is not clear why Judas was called a Galilean, since Gamala is situated in the province of Gaulanitis. It might be suggested that because of the close proximity of Galilee with Gaulanitis the names of these two provinces were loosely used.

JUDAS OF DAMASCUS. He is Paul's host at Damascus. Nothing further is known of his life except that Ananias is commanded by the Lord in a vision to go into the street called Straight and seek in the house of Judas (ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἰούδα) Saul of Tarsus (Acts 9:11). He is a Christian since he received Paul into his household.

²³ Nicephorus Callistus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, II, 40, ed. F. Ducaei, Vol. 1, pp. 202-03.

²⁴ Cave, W., *op. cit.*, p. 429.

²⁵ Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, XVIII, i, 1, ed. Hudson, Vol. 2, pp. 791-92.

²⁶ Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, XVIII, i, 1 and 6, ed. Hudson, Vol. 2, pp. 791-92; *ibid.*, XX, iv, 2, ed. Hudson, Vol. 2, pp. 886-87; *The Jewish War*, II, viii, 1, ed. Loeb, no. 118, pp. 366, 368; *ibid.*, II, xvii, 8, ed. Loeb, no. 433 p. 492; *ibid.*, VII, viii, 1, ed. Loeb, nos. 268-74, pp. 580, 582.

²⁷ Josephus likewise calls him a Galilean: Ἰούδα ὁ Γαλιλαῖος in *Antiquitates Judaicae*, XX, iv, 2, ed. Hudson, Vol. 2, p. 886; and ὁ υἱὸς Ἰούδα τοῦ καλουμένου Γαλιλαίου in *The Jewish War*, II, xvii, 8, ed. Loeb, no. 433, p. 492.

JUDAS BARSABBAS. This Judas, also surnamed Barsabbas,²⁸ was one of the first Christians in Jerusalem and a companion of Paul and Barnabas in their journey to Antioch. He accompanied them on this journey in order to deliver a letter with the resolutions adopted at the Council of Jerusalem, concerning the non-observance of the Law by the Gentiles. Together with Silas his companion, he was sent to explain by word of mouth the selfsame things, which were contained in the letters they were bearing, namely, to explain that the Christian community at Antioch was to abstain from things sacrificed to idols, from blood, from things strangled and from fornication. Judas also is said to be a prophet who instructed the faithful by communicating the truth and the will of God. He later returned alone to Jerusalem (Acts 15:22-34). After this, Judas Barsabbas disappears from history and we hear no more of him. Cornelius a Lapide²⁹ thinks that he is the brother of Joseph who was proposed together with Matthias (Acts 1:23) to fill the vacancy left open by Judas Iscariot, for both bear the same surname of Barsabbas. He is not, however, to be identified with the Apostle Jude, since the Acts clearly distinguish him by the patronymic Barsabbas and, furthermore, Jude was the brother of James (Lk. 6:16).

²⁸ Acts 15:22: Ἰούδαν τὸν καλούμενον Βαρσαββάν.

²⁹ A Lapide, Cornelius, *In Acta Apostolorum*, (Commentarius in Scripturam Sacram), Vol. 17, p. 303.

CHAPTER II

THE NAME "ISCARIOT"

A. TEXTS

THE bearers of the very common name of Judas mentioned in the foregoing chapter have, with few exceptions, distinguished themselves for God's glory and their country's welfare. Their motives were pure and unselfish. Their deeds will speak for themselves and testify to the fitness of such a noble name, which indeed signifies *celebrated, lauded*. But because of the infamous act of betrayal wrought by Judas Iscariot, the name began to be associated with the vilest of criminals. Recently Father F. J. Mueller¹ wrote: "It was not always thus with the name of Judas. It was once a heroic name; it stood in Jewish history for one of the finest and noblest of manly characters, one of the nation's great, God-raised heroes. For all time, however, since the treason of the Apostle, the name is in execration."

Judas Iscariot is the twelfth-named Apostle listed in the catalogue of the Synoptists (Mt. 10:4; Mk. 3:19; Lk. 6:16). His exclusion from the list in Acts 1:13 is quite noticeable. Isho'dad of Merv,² in his interpretation of Mk. 14:21, concludes that "it is evident that Judah was not one of the inferior (Disciples), but one of the well-known of the Twelve; and according to some, he the third, that is to say, after Simeon and James; but the Evangelists, because they wrote the Gospel after the treason, put him as the last of the Disciples."

The name of this Apostle has come down to us as a symbol of perfidy. He is invariably tagged with the infamous epithet of *betray*er, except where from the context no confusion is possible; and such is his usual designation in the Gospels. The Evangelists take great pain not to confuse this Judas with any other who has

¹ Mueller, F. J., *Christ's Twelve*, p. 94.

² Gibson, M. D., edited and translated by, *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv*, Vol. 1, Translation (Horae Semiticae no. V), p. 140.

borne the selfsame name. Thus, when speaking of Jude Thaddeus, another Apostle and brother of the Lord, we are sure not to mistake him for the betrayer, because the epithet attached to the name clearly indicates him to be another person. It is always either "Judas the brother of James" (Acts 1:13), or "Judas, not Iscariot" (Jn. 14:22), or "Judas who was surnamed Barsabbas" (Acts 15:22), or "Judas the Galilean" (Acts 5:37). There is no opprobrious epithet attached after these names. Rather, the hagiographers viewing everything in the light of pure objectivity disdain every kind of mean and subjective censure about these men. Conversely, when occasion presents itself to deal with Judas Iscariot—even though it is only a slight mention—the authors of the Gospels reflect their personal opinions by including in their reference the most ignominious words by which he was to be identified for all time, "who betrayed the Lord."³ There exists, therefore, no ambiguity as to the identity of Judas Iscariot. The texts are so clear that no biblical commentator has ever presumed to confuse him with another. The Gospels and Acts, therefore, present a true picture of the life and deeds of Judas Iscariot, who had delivered the Savior of mankind into the hands of His enemies.

Examining the texts anent the name Iscariot, we are at once confronted with variant readings. Though the approved text always calls him Ἰσκαριώτης, signifying either a place of origin or an opprobrious appellation, nevertheless, important codices as Codex Bezae, Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Ephraemi, give his name either as Σκαριωθ or σκαριωτ. St. John⁴ calls him the son of Simon τὸν Ἰούδαν Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτου. In Jn. 12:4 and 13:2 the name follows the traditional spelling of the Synoptists, Ἰσκαριώτης, which could signify equally the place of his origin and an opprobrious appellation. The variant reading of S# and © as well as of 1689^r

³ St. John Chrysostom (*In Matthaeum*, hom. XXXII (al. XXXIII) 3, MPG 57, 380–81) is of the opinion that the employment of the expression by the Evangelists "who also betrayed him" connotes not a personal censure. 'Neque ut inimicus vel hostis, sed ut historiam scribens sic vocavit. Non dixit, Exsecrandus vel scelestissimus, sed ex urbe ipsum cognominavit.'

⁴ Jn. 6:71 (Greek); cfr. also Jn. 13:26.

syh^m απο καρνωτον would suggest a place-name, viz., "from a town of walnut palms."

For the sake of convenience the passages where the name of Judas Iscariot occur in the N.T. are herewith given. These, in turn, will serve as a basis for the subsequent discussion concerning the meaning of Iscariot. The name *Judas Iscariot* occurs 22 times.

Mt. 10:4 καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης ὁ καὶ παραδὸς αὐτόν. Variants: Σκαριωθ C 1424 a b c g h (ff); Σκαριωτης D lat pl. sy.

Mt. 26:14 ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώτης. Variants: σκαριωτ D lat syspi ar. gg.

Mt. 26:25 Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδὸς αὐτόν. No variants.

Mt. 26:47 Ἰούδας εἰς τῶν δώδεκα. No variants.

Mt. 27:3 Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδὸς αὐτόν. Variants: παραδους B 33s lat ar. co.

Mk. 3:19 καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώθ. Variant: Σκαριωθ D.

Mk. 14:10 καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώθ. Variants: Ἰσκαριωθ B-C# 33ss © 372s ff²; Σκαρ. D a b ff² sysp, -tes k c fl q vg ar gg; ὁ Ἰσκαριωτης rel co.

Mk. 14:43 ὁ Ἰούδας εἰς τῶν δώδεκα. Variants: Ἰουδ + ο Ἰσκαριώτης 579 Ds 565 872 543s 1424 ss all. M 348 pl U 1071 ss Φ A^r Λ^r 998 al. lat syph ar gg¹.

Lk. 6:16 καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώθ. Variants: Ἰσκαριωθ BS# C 33s 579 gg Mn; Σκαρ D lat. sysp; Ἰσκαριωτην rel-, omittit r.

Lk. 22:3 Ἰούδαν τὸν καλούμενον Ἰσκαριώτην. Variants: Σκαριωτ G syspih (D^llat).

Lk. 22:47 ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰούδας εἰς τῶν δώδεκα. No variants. Although the name of Judas is mentioned above without qualification, nevertheless, there is no mistaking him for any other, since this passage describes the scene in Gethsemani where Judas Iscariot delivers Christ to the mob with the kiss of betrayal.

Lk. 22:48 Ἰούδα, φιλήματι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδως; Here likewise are no variant readings. Christ calls the betrayer simply without any appellative attached. The other Evangelists understand this act to be so well known that they deemed it unnecessary to describe him any further in this place. The kiss of betrayal is what characterized Judas (cfr. Mt. 26:47-56; Mk. 14:43-49; Jn. 18:2-11).

Jn. 6:71 τὸν Ἰούδαν Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτου. Variants: Σκαριωθ D a b ff² (e); απο καρνωτου S# © 1689r syhm.

Jn. 12:4 Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης. Variants: Ιουδ + Σιμωνος Ψ Δ Dss 1689 rel. pl (U vl); Σκαρ vl sy; απο καρνωτου D.

Jn. 13:2 Ἰούδας Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτης. Variants: Ἰουδας omittunt 2193 1689^r 1354 047 c.

Jn. 13:26 Ἰούδα Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτου. Variants: Σιμωνος omittunt 788s a e ar.

Jn. 13:29 Ἰούδας. No variant. It is clear from the context that this Judas is not other than Iscariot.

Jn. 18:2 Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδούς αὐτόν. No variant.

Jn. 18:3 ὁ οὖν Ἰούδας λαβὼν τὴν σπιῖραν. No variant. The context also is clear as to the identity of Judas Iscariot.

Jn. 18:5 Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδούς αὐτόν. No variant.

Acts 1:16 περὶ Ἰούδα. No variant. In his speech St. Peter refers to Judas' treacherous betrayal and his tragic fate. (Cfr. Lk. 22:47; Mt. 27:3-10).

Acts 1:25 ἀφ' ἧς παρέβη Ἰούδας. No variant.

B. MEANING OF ISCARIOT

In determining the significance of *Iscariot*, it must be borne in mind that surnames of this class are seldom, if ever, given at birth; that they often either memorialize some important event in the person's history, indicate some distinguishing trait in his character or give some hint of his life work.⁵ Thus compare Israel, the name given by Yahweh to the patriarch Jacob;⁶ Simon Bar-Jona, who was renamed Peter by Christ;⁷ Boanerges, sons of thunder;⁸ or Barnabas, son of consolation.⁹

The proper name *Iscariot* certainly was not the name given to Judas at his birth. In a single passage recorded in the N.T., wherein Christ addresses the betrayer directly by name, he is

⁵ Le Camus, Mgr., *La vie de N.-S. Jésus Christ*, Vol. 1, p. 468.

⁶ Gen. 32:29; 35:10.

⁷ Mt. 16:18. The Church compared with an edifice is said to rest on a rock and that rock was Peter. Cfr. also Mt. 4:18; 10:2; Mk. 3:16; Lk. 6:14; Acts 10:5; 11:13.

⁸ Mk. 3:17.

⁹ Acts 4:36.

simply called *Judas*, "Judas, dost thou betray the Son of Man with a kiss?"¹⁰ This is further evidenced in the narrative sections of the N.T. where the sacred writers also call the betrayer of our Lord simply *Judas*, since from the context it becomes clear beyond doubt that none other than Judas Iscariot is intended.¹¹ On the other hand, before imposing a new name upon the Prince of the Apostles, the Savior previously called him Simon Bar-Jona, the name which Peter was known prior to his call to the Apostleship.¹²

What then does the name *Iscariot* mean? Is it a name that reveals his place of origin, so that it would mean "man of Carioth;" or is it a name that might perhaps give some hint as to his personal character, chiefly his infamous act of betrayal? Scripture scholars are not agreed in the interpretation of the origin and meaning of this proper name. Numerous hypotheses have been advanced, more or less conjectural in nature. Yet, withal, no degree of unanimity among those who have attempted to settle the meaning of this epithet has been reached. Four theories are outstanding, of which the first makes *Iscariot* a local place-name; the second supposes that, if Judas had this surname before he committed his crime, it signifies "man with the leathern girdle or apron;" the third supposes that, if Judas received this name only after his death, it may be translated as "man of strangulation;" the fourth, "man of lies or deceit."

1. *Iscariot As a Place-Name*

a. Iscariot, "of the tribe of Issachar"

The most obvious and consequently the favorite interpretation given to the surname *Iscariot* is that which regards the epithet as a place-name. St. Jerome was the first to offer an explanation of the name which, he says, designates the town of his origin, "Vel a vico aut urbe in quo ortus est, vel ex tribu Isachar vocabulum sumpsit: ut quodam vaticinio in condemnationem sui natus sit. Isachar enim interpretatur 'merces,' ut significetur

¹⁰ Lk. 22:48.

¹¹ Thus Mt. 26:47; Mk. 14:43; Lk. 22:47; Jn. 13:29; 18:3; Acts 1:16,25.

¹² Mt. 16:17; see also Jn. 1:42.

pretium proditoris.”¹³ For St. Jerome the proper name *Iscariot* suggests a geographical locality, but this should have been properly rendered by the Evangelists as *Judas de Carioth*. Maldonatus¹⁴ rightly rejects St. Jerome’s interpretation and observes that, were such a derivation correct, we should have expected Judas to be called not *Iscariot* but *Judas the Issacharite*, or something similar.

St. Jerome, therefore, connects the word with the tribe of Issachar, and finds in the root meaning an allusion to the reward which the traitor received. *Šakhar*, indeed, means *wages, reward*, which would very likely apply to Judas who received in wages 30 pieces of silver as a reward for the betrayal of Christ.¹⁵ However, there is a difficulty with this solution. This root in the O.T. is never used in the pejorative sense, but rather is employed to denote the just wages of a laborer,¹⁶ of a nurse,¹⁷ stipend of a priest,¹⁸ passage-money¹⁹ or a reward from God either for virtue²⁰ or for labors and sufferings.²¹ The usage of this root exemplified in the above instances has a good sense and never has reference to unjust wages or rewards. The word employed to designate the latter is *’ethnāh* or *’ethnan*,²² a technical expression used of the wages paid to a harlot.

The advocates of this theory admit that the root underwent some modification when it passed into the Greek epithet.²³ Since the Twelve were called to the Apostolate in Galilee and as Acts

¹³ S. Hieronymus, *Commentariā in Evangelium S. Matthaei* I, 10, MPL 26, 62.

¹⁴ Maldonatus, J., *Commentarii in Quatuor Evangelistas*, on Mt. 10:4, Vol. 1, p. 301: “Quibus illud repugnat, quod non Ischariotem: sed Isachariem vocari oportebat.”

¹⁵ A. Lapide, Cornelius, *In SS. Matthaeum et Marcum* (Commentaria in Scripturam Sacram), on Mt. 10:4, Vol. 15, p. 257.

¹⁶ Gen. 30:28,32; Deut. 15:18; 3 Kgs. 5:20; Zach. 8:10; Mal. 3:5; Prov. 11:18; Is. 19:10.

¹⁷ Ex. 2:9.

¹⁸ Num. 18:31.

¹⁹ Jon. 1:3.

²⁰ Gen. 15:1; 2 Par. 15:7; Jer. 31:16.

²¹ Is. 40:10; Ez. 29:18.

²² Deut. 23:19; Os. 2:14; 9:1; Mich. 1:7; Ez. 16:34,41; Is. 23:17,18.

²³ Grotius, Hugo, *Annotationes in Libros Evangelii*, on Mt. 10:4, p. 193.

2:7 would seem to suggest that they at that time were all Galileans, it follows that Judas Iscariot also came from this region. By placing the traitor's native home in Issachar it would make him a Galilean, whereas Carioth was in the tribe of Judah.²⁴

b. Iscariot, "man of Carioth"

Carioth, which is thought to be present in the name Iscariot, is a town in the extreme south of Judea. It is mentioned for the first time in the Bible in Jos. 15:25. It also appears in Jer. 48:24 (q^eriyyōth), where it occurs as the name of a city of the Moabites; in Jer. 48:41 (haq^eriyyōth);²⁵ and in Am. 2:2 (haq^eriyyōth).²⁶ This Carioth in Moab cannot be the home of Judas Iscariot, since, according to Mt. 15:24, Jesus was sent only to the sons of Israel. From this it follows that the Savior did not call men to the Apostleship from the ranks of pagans.²⁷ The Masoretic pointing on Jos. 15:25, *ûq^eriyyōth heṣ^erōn hî' hāṣōr*, separates the words, making it two city-names. The Greek translators of the LXX read the original Hebrew to be *καὶ αἱ πόλεις Ἀσερών*, "the towns of Hesron," for the feminine noun *qir^eyāh*, plural *q^eriyyōth* (from the root *qārāh*, in Piel *to lay beams*), means *town, city*. A similar reading is adopted by the Syriac version.²⁸ The Targum of Jonathan²⁹

²⁴ Breen, A. E., *A Harmonized Exposition of the Four Gospels*, Vol. 2, p. 68.

²⁵ C. C. Torrey ("The Name Iscariot," in *HThRev*, Vol. 36 (1943), p. 52), in a note, avers that the definite article here is probably a case of dittography with the preceding *nîl^ekdhāh*.

²⁶ C. C. Torrey (*loc. cit.*): "it is not perfectly certain that a proper name is intended." Such a view is supported by the LXX reading where *Qeriyōth* is taken to mean city. W. M. Harper (*Amos and Hosea* (International Critical Commentary), pp. 41-42) understands it as either a name for Kir-Moab, a city in southern Judah captured by the Moabites; or another name for Ar-Moab mentioned in Num. 21:15; Is. 15:1 but not appearing in Jer. 48; or a place distinct from both of these. He concludes that the name of this city stands for Moab, as Damascus usually represents Syria.

²⁷ Haugg, D., *Judas Iskarioth in den neutestamentlichen Berichten*, p. 77.

²⁸ The Syriac version rendered in Latin by Walton (*Biblia Polyglotta*, Vol. 2, p. 55) reads: "et civitas Hesron." Cfr. Chase, F. H., "The Name Iscariot in Codex Bezae," in *ExpT*, Vol. 9, (1897-98), p. 189: "Such, indeed, is the interpretation of the name Iscariot preserved by the Syriac lexicographer: . . . 'Scariota, that is, from Scariot, the city.'"

²⁹ *ûq^eriyyōth heṣ^erōn*, in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta*, Vol. 2, p. 54.

and the Arabic version³⁰ follow the reading of the Masoretic text. S. Holmes³¹ doubts the correctness of the Hebrew translation into Greek and claims that the translator took *q^eriyyōth* as the plural of *qir^eyāh*, though the plural form of this noun was not in use at this period. The same mistake occurs also in Jos. 18:28.³² In his comment on Jos. 15:25 K. F. Keil³³ thinks that *q^eriyyōth* is connected with *ḥeṣ^erōn*, as an appellative, "cities of Hesron," and cites a parallel example making it comparable to "city of Arba" (Hebron) mentioned in Jos. 21:11. Hasor is understood as its other name. This view, he proceeds to say, has been emphatically defended by Maurer and concludes that "there is no little probability of its correctness."

Carioth³⁴ is a small town situated in the southern part of the tribe of Judah. Its exact location cannot be decisively established. The Vulgate distinguishes Carioth from the following word, *Hesron*, which, therefore, would seem to represent a distinct locality. In the M.T. they are two city-names. The LXX, as we have seen above, understand it as a common noun and translate it as "the cities of Hesron." The absence of a *warw* copulative in the Hebrew text must be here noted, for in the preceding (Jos. 15:24) and in the following verses (Jos. 15:26) no difficulty presents itself in the enumeration of these distinct geographical localities. Many follow the version of the Greek and Syriac, viz., "the cities of Hesron." Others again think that it corresponds to the Arabic *qaraiya*, a ravine. Still others regard Carioth-Hesron as a composite proper noun, just as Hasar-Gaddah, Beth-Palet, Hasar-Shual and Beer-Sheba of vv. 27 and 28. Upon this interpretation the textual sense of Jos. 15:25, *ûq^eriyyōth ḥeṣ^erōn hî' ḥāṣōr*, is "and Carioth-Hesron which is the same as Hasor."³⁵ According to A. Legendre,³⁶ the actual name

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Holmes, C., *Joshua*, p. 62.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

³³ Keil, K. F., *Commentar über das Buch Josua*, p. 291.

³⁴ Legendre, A. "Carioth," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Vigouroux), Vol. 2, col. 282-83.

³⁵ Like the Latin *is*, *ea*, *id* and the Greek *αὐτός*, the Hebrew personal pronouns *hû'* and *hî'* indicate a definite person or thing already mentioned previously. Cfr. Gesenius, G., *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Linguae*

does not refer to more than the first part of the ancient designation. H. Reland,³⁷ on the other hand, has shown that the second part of the composite proper name has disappeared. Carioth-Hesron became simply Carioth. Whichever reading be preferred, the single or the composite noun, yet, withal, there is a close resemblance to the Arabic dual *quoreitein*, "two cities," or to the Hebrew dual *qir^eyāthayim*, which possibly might have been replaced by the plural *q^eriyyōth*.³⁸ If, on the other hand, the reading of the Vulgate be adopted, "Carioth, Hesron, haec est Asor," the identification of Carioth becomes plausible. By separating Carioth from Hesron by a comma, so that two villages instead of one are had, it will follow that the *q^eriyyōth* of Jos. 15:25 is a particular village in southern Judea and identified as Khirbet el-Kuryetein. E. Robinson,³⁹ in his journal of travels for May 28, 1838, mentions three sites of ruins in southern Judea, to wit, Jenbeh, El-Kuryetein and El-Beyûdh, all situated at the foot of a mountain. He found them in his day either as foundations of small villages or merely caves. He understands El-Kuryetein to mean *the two cities*, the *Q^eriyyōth* of Jos. 15:25. The bearings are S. 75° W. George Adam Smith⁴⁰ places *Q^eriyyōth Hēṣ^erōn* in the Negeb, in the wilderness of Maon, at the source of Wadi Seiyal which flows into the Dead Sea. It is 11 miles due south of Hebron and 21 miles N.E. of Beer-Sheba. F. Buhl⁴¹ identifies the place with the modern Arabic name of Qaryaten found in

Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti, Vol. 1, p. 368, s.v. *hū'*. The LXX correctly translates the original Hebrew by *καὶ αἱ πόλεις Ἀσερών αὐτῇ Ἀσώρ*. For the difference in sense between *αὐτή*, *the same*, and *αὐτῇ* *this*, see Smyth, H. W., *A Greek Grammar for College*, p. 93 and Robertson, A. T., *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, p. 232.

³⁶ Legendre, A., *loc. cit.*

³⁷ Relandus, H., *Palaestina ex Monumentis veteribus illustrata*, Vol. 3, p. 520.

³⁸ Kampffmeyer, G., "Alte Namen im heutigen Palästina und Syrien," in *ZDPV*, Vol. 16 (1893), p. 64.

³⁹ Robinson, E., *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Vol. 2, p. 101. M. V. Guérin in his *Description Géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*, Vol. 3, Judée, p. 180 gives us further details about these ruins.

⁴⁰ Smith, G. A., *Historical Atlas of the Holy Land*, p. 50.

⁴¹ Buhl, F., *Geographie des alten Palästina*, p. 182. The modern Arabic noun for village is *qaryatun*.

southern Judea. Père Abel⁴² disassociates Carioth from Hesron, making them two distinct villages. The modern name of the supposed country of Judas is Khirbet El-Qaryathein, 7 kilometers to the south of Tell Ma'in. Father A. Fernández⁴³ calls in question the identification of Carioth mentioned in Jos. 15:25 with the modern Arabic name. Wellhausen and Keim⁴⁴ think that Carioth is identical with Coreae, modern Tell Mazar near Qarawa, a frontier town of Judea. Josephus⁴⁵ relates that Pompey halted here on his march from Bethsan to Jerusalem. Harper⁴⁶ thinks that the mention of Carioth in Am. 2:2 and Jer. 48:24, because of its importance, is either Kir Moab or Ar, the capital of Moab. Modern tourists⁴⁷ have pointed out to them the village of Qouriyout, in ancient Ephraim and on the frontier of Samaria, as the native place of Judas Iscariot. It is 3 miles to the east of El Loubban and situated on a mountain 2,626 feet high. A less probable site shown today to visitors is Khirbet Qoureteim,⁴⁸ the Carioth-Hesron of Jos. 15:25. The author of a guide to the Holy Land, Father Barnabas Meistermann, O.F.M., thinks it strange to admit that "this country, inhabited almost exclusively for six centuries by the Idumeans, could have produced an apostle, even a Judas."

The divergent identification of Carioth proposed by eminent geographers inspire only uncertainty. Nevertheless, the majority of biblical scholars⁴⁹ prefer to accept Carioth-Hesron in Judea

⁴² Abel, F.-M., O. P., *Géographie de la Palestine*, Vol. 2, pp. 417, 345.

⁴³ Fernández, A., S. J., *Commentarius in Librum Iosue* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae, Sectio 2, Vol. 5), on Jos. 15:25, p. 207.

⁴⁴ Cited by Buhl, F., *op. cit.*, p. 181.

⁴⁵ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, XIV, iii, 4, ed. Loeb, no. 49, p. 472; *Jewish War*, I, vi, 5, ed. Loeb, no. 134, p. 62; *ibid.*, IV, viii, 1, ed. Loeb, no. 449, p. 132. Cfr. Also BASOR, no. 62, April, 1936, p. 14.

⁴⁶ Harper, W. M., *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

⁴⁷ Meistermann, B., O. F. M., *New Guide to the Holy Land*, p. 341.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁴⁹ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Matthaeum*, hom. XXXII (al. XXXIII), 3, MPG 57, 381; S. Thomas Aquinas, *Expositio continua super Quatuor Evangelistas* (Catena Aurea), Vol. 1, p. 169; MacRory, J., *The Gospel of St. John*, p. 122; Maas, A. J., *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew*, pp. 117-18; Dalman, G., *The Words of Jesus*, pp. 51-52; Dalman, G., *Jesus-Jeshua*, pp. 28-29; Lagrange, M. J., O. P., *Évangile selon Saint Marc*

(Jos. 15:25) or Carioth in Moab (Jer. 48:24) as the place of abode of Judas. The last member of the name is said to preserve the memory of his original village. Iscariot is, therefore, a hellenization of 'iš qeriyōth. Accordingly, Judas was the only member of the Apostolic College who was not a Galilean.

This school of thought proposes to prove that the Greek Ἰσκαριώτης represents the Hebrew 'iš qeriyōth, "man of Carioth." Parallels in support of this view are taken both from the Bible itself and from Talmudic sources. Thus, 'iš tōbh of 2 Kgs. 10:6,8, united by the Greek interpreters into the expression Ειστώβ (Ιστωβ A) and into Ἰστοβος by Josephus,⁵⁰ is generally understood to mean "man of Tob."⁵¹ 'Iš hōdh of 1 Par. 7:18 and Ἰσαδεκ (Σονδ A) of the LXX is likewise translated as "man of Hod." Dalman⁵² quotes copious examples from Talmudic litera-

(Études Bibliques), p. 67; Buzy, D., *Évangile selon Saint Matthieu* (La Sainte Bible), Vol. 9, p. 126; Pirot, L., *Évangile selon Saint Marc* (La Sainte Bible), Vol. 9, p. 438; Marchal, L., *Évangile selon Saint Luc* (La Sainte Bible), Vol. 10, p. 86; Braun, F. M., *Évangile selon Saint Jean* (La Sainte Bible), Vol. 10, p. 369; Gould, E. P., *The Gospel according to Saint Mark* (International Critical Commentary), p. 59; Bernard, J. H., *The Gospel according to St. John* (International Critical Commentary), Vol. 1, p. 224; Plummer, A., *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (International Critical Commentary), p. 175; Plummer, A., "Judas Iscariot," in *Dictionary of the Bible* (Hastings), Vol. 2, p. 796; Stoll, R. F., *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, p. 107; Miller, L. F., *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*, p. 150; Knabenbauer, J., S. J., *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), on Mt. 10:4, I, 1, p. 434; Callan, C. J., O. P., *The Four Gospels*, p. 64; Fillion, L. C., S. S., *The Life of Christ*, Vol. 2, p. 264; Lépicier, A. M., *Diatessaron seu Concordia Quatuor Evangeliorum*, Vol. 1, p. 416; Cave, W., *The Lives of the Apostles*, p. 433; Bruce, A. B., *The Training of the Twelve*, p. 33; Simon-Prado, *Praelectiones Biblicae ad usum Scholarum*, Vol. 1, Novum Testamentum, p. 296; Edersheim, A., *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, Vol. 1, p. 522; Mueller, F. J., *Christ's Twelve*, p. 93; Legendre, A., *op. cit.*, col. 283; Tasker, J. G., "Judas Iscariot," in *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (Hastings), Vol. 1, p. 908; Gutman, J., "Judas," in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. 9, col. 526; Winer, G. B., "Judas," in *Biblisches Realwoerterbuch*, Vol. 1, pp. 633-36; Wolf, J. C., *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, Vol. 1, p. 410.

⁵⁰ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, VII, vi, 1, ed. Loeb, no. 121, p. 426.

⁵¹ Tob is a region probably in the neighborhood of Ammon.

⁵² Dalman, G., *The Words of Jesus*, p. 51. Cfr. also Ewald, H., *History of Israel*, Vol. 6, p. 303, note 8: "According to Pirque Aboth also, it was

ture showing that such was the usual and common designation for a surname among the Jews. Thus, there is a Christian by the name of *Ya'āqōbh 'iš K'far Sammā'*; a *Y'hūdhāh 'iš K'far 'Akko*; an *'El'eāzār 'iš Barthōtha'*; and a *Tew'edhas 'iš Romēy*. The introduction of a place-name by means of an Aramaic preposition *dhemin* or *min* is less common. Since Aramaic⁵³ was the common language of the Jews in the time of Jesus Christ, it also remains a fact that Hebrew, just as today, did not entirely drop out of the life of the chosen people. It was for them the holy language of the Temple, God's language, so that Hebrew was still regarded as the true language of Israel. Many of the personal names preserved the vestiges of Hebrew antiquity, as for example Cephas (Aramaic *rock*), Joannes (grace of God), Nathanael (gift of God), or the modern Loewe,⁵⁴ which in reality is the ancient Levi.

It is quite surprising, as G. Dalman⁵⁵ aptly remarks, that the word *Iscariot* was left untranslated by the sacred writers. One would naturally expect *Ἰούδας ὁ ἀπὸ Καριώθ* just like *ἀπὸ καρνώτου* of S# © 1689^r syh^m in Jn. 6:71 and of Codex D in Jn. 12:4.⁵⁶ The bearer of this name, therefore, should have been known as a Cariothite. Nathanael who hailed from Cana of Galilee is designated in Jn. 21:2 as *Ναθαναὴλ ὁ ἀπὸ Κανᾶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας*. The same

a frequent custom of those times to designate a man's birth by such compounds with 'iš."

⁵³ Dalman, G., *Jesus-Jeshua*, p. 27. Cfr. also Gray, G. B., "Proper Names," in *Dictionary of the Bible* (Hastings), Vol. 3, pp. 482-85; Schürer, E., *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Division II, Vol. 1, pp. 8-10.

⁵⁴ Jacobs, J., "Names," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 9, p. 157.

⁵⁵ Dalman, G., *Words of Jesus*, pp. 51-52.

⁵⁶ Compare the controversy between E. Nestle ("Another Peculiarity of Codex Bezae," in *ExpT*, Vol. 9 (1897-98), p. 140; "The Name of Judas Iscariot in the Fourth Gospel," in *ExpT*, Vol. 9 (1897-98), p. 240) who maintains that Codex Bezae has preserved the true reading of St. John's Gospel, and F. H. Chase ("The Name Iscariot in Codex Bezae," in *ExpT*, Vol. 9 (1897-98), p. 189; "The Name Judas Iscariot in the Fourth Gospel," in *ExpT*, Vol. 9 (1897-98), pp. 285-86) who affirms a Syriac original for *ἀπὸ καρνώτου*. On page 285, F. H. Chase writes: "That this paraphrastic representation is confined to St. John is in complete harmony with the theory which finds in assimilation to Old Syriac texts an explanation of many of the 'Western' or 'Syro-Latin' texts."

form of expression should have been used also to designate the surname of Judas. Dalman⁵⁷ conjectures that 'Ισκαριώθ was already unintelligible to the Evangelists at the time of their writing. Wherefore, some later copyist recalled a locality by the name of 'Ισκάρ or 'Ισκάρια. As a result, 'Ισκαριώτης was formed, while the scribe of the text in Codex D followed the spelling of the Syriac copy which had Σκαριώθ and Σκαριώτης. It might have been, too, that the copyist, seeing the ending -ωτον, which in D is derived from ἰσκαριώτον, but yet, not understanding the actual meaning of καρῳτ, thought of and wrote καρῳτος (φοῖνεξ), a palm-tree which bears dates resembling a walnut.⁵⁸ The inability of the scribe to translate *Yēhūdhāh 'iś Qeriygōth* into 'Ιούδας ὁ ἀπὸ Καριώθ is attributed to his lack of knowledge of the Aramaic environment in which he found himself. This was quite possible because surnames of this type, whether they were Hebrew or Aramaic in form, usually remained unchanged regardless of the language spoken at that period of time. According to this theory, the more probable derivation from ἀπὸ καρῳτόν represented by Codex D, presupposes the hebraic 'iś *Qeriygōth*, and 'Ισκαριώτης is an attempt at hellenization after the manner of στρατιώτης.⁵⁹

In reply to the objection⁶⁰ why an adjectival ending was added to a proper name, the advocates of this opinion solve the difficulty by supposing that the name Iscariot was so familiar to the inspired writers that they regarded it as a place-name. Jn. 6:71 and 13:26 show that the epithet was equally applicable to the father and son. Consequently, the twofold usage of the name intimates that it was a name designating a place of origin.

c. Iscariot, "man of Kartha"

Heinrich Ewald⁶¹ is alone in maintaining that Carioth itself could scarcely be in the tribe of Judah, since all the Apostles were Galileans.⁶² As an alternative, he conjectures that Judas' family

⁵⁷ Dalman, G., *The Words of Jesus*, p. 52.

⁵⁸ Cheyne, T. K., "Judas Iscariot," in *Encyclopedia Biblica*, Vol. 2, p. 2624.

⁵⁹ Dalman, G., *Jesus-Jeshua*, pp. 28-29.

⁶⁰ Maas, A. J., *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*, pp. 117-18.

⁶¹ Ewald, H., *The History of Israel*, Vol. 6, p. 303, note 8.

⁶² Perhaps H. Ewald understands Acts 2:7 in the sense that St. Luke had in mind all the Apostles including even Judas Iscariot, though he does not state so explicitly.

came from Kartha (Qar^etāh, Jos. 21:34), in the tribe of Zebulon, or another northern place.

d. Iscariot, "man of Jericho"

Another place-name theory makes Judas Iscariot a native of Jericho. T. K. Cheyne states the position of this school in the following words: "We may not unreasonably conjecture that the true name is Ἰεριχωρῆς, 'a man of Jericho.' It would readily be remembered that one of the disciples came from Jericho."⁶³ Heumann is also a disciple of this school of thought.⁶⁴ This theory is more fully elaborated by Julius Bartoloccio de Celleno⁶⁵ who calls it a more probable solution.

Judas' country is said to be a plain near Jericho where the caryotic palm-tree, commonly known as *Qryyoʿ*, is said to grow abundantly. This being his native place, the traitor was known as *'iš Q^eriyyoṭa*, "a man from the city of palm trees," just as Antigonos was called *'iš Sōhō*, "man of Socho," because he was born in a wooded place. Caryota, as the region itself is called, is about 150 stadia distant eastward from Jerusalem. The caryotic palm-tree bears a walnut-like fruit and is said to grow solely in this region. If transplanted, it fails to survive. Even though in the summer the plain is burnt up, yet the palm-groves on the banks of the Jordan remain luxuriant and productive.⁶⁶

e. Other identifications

In the Ethiopic history of the lives, martyrdoms and deaths of the Twelve Apostles, Judas' epithet is given as *Askôrôtâwi*, from *Askôrôt*, which is the name of his city.⁶⁷

⁶³ Cheyne, T. K., loc. cit. The same is also contained in his article on "Jericho" in *Encyclopedia Biblica*, Vol. 2, p. 2401.

⁶⁴ Cited by Winer, G. B., "Judas," in *Biblisches Realwoerterbuch*, Vol. 1, p. 633.

⁶⁵ De Celleno, Julius Bartoloccio, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, Vol. 3, pp. 11, 22.

⁶⁶ Cfr. Josephus, *Jewish War*, IV, viii, 2, ed. Loeb, nos. 451-58, pp. 132, 134; Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, ii, 41, ed. Loeb, pp. 291, 293; *ibid.*, XVII, i, 51, ed. Loeb, p. 132; Pliny, *Natural History*, XIII, 4, ed. J. Bostock and H. T. Riley, pp. 175-76.

⁶⁷ Budge, E. A. W., *The Contendings of the Apostles*, Vol. 2, p. 709.

A certain Jesus,⁶⁸ son of Heli, and author of a Syro-Arabic lexicon, avers that the traitor was surnamed Scariot, a city situated at the foot of Mount Lebanon. He writes: "Scariuta (dicitur) de nomine Urbis illius Senir, id est Scariut, et Jordanis ab eo egreditur." Julius Bartoloccio de Celleno observes that his testimony is to be regarded as suspect. In that case Judas ought to have had a double surname, which is contrary to all evidence we possess. The alternate name Senir for the city of Scariut⁶⁹ is manifestly devised by the author in order to make his theory gain credence.

Outside of Palestine, the birth place of Judas is mentioned by Pietro della Valle⁷⁰ to be on the island of Corcyra in the Ionian Sea. The inhabitants of the island are reported to point out to visitors Judas' home and his descendants. Julius Bartholoccio de Celleno rejects his report and regards it as fabulous.

2. *Iscariot As a Material Article*

Another possible explanation given for the origin of the epithet Iscariot is "Judas with the Apron." It was suggested by John Lightfoot⁷¹ who was attracted by a word in the Talmud. Accordingly, Judas is said to be a son of a currier, at any rate, of low extraction. Applied to him as the bearer of the purse (Jn. 12:6; 13:29), he was called by this title during his lifetime while fulfilling the duties of treasurer in the Apostolic College.

The name is derived from 'as^eqōr^etiya', a leathern girdle or apron worn by tanners. The Rabbis, speaking of a man who vows not to wear certain garments, teach the following: "Qui voto se obligat de non utendis vestibus, uti sacco ei licet, cilicio, etc., ast

⁶⁸ Cited by De Celleno, Julius Bartoloccio, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, Vol. 3, pp. 22-23.

⁶⁹ For a fuller description of this city, consult Wilson, C. W., "Senir," in *Dictionary of the Bible (Hastings)*, Vol. 4, p. 436. For an inscription made by Shalmaneser concerning Mt. Senir which was made into a fortress by Hazael of Damascus, see Schrader, E., *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, Vol. 1, p. 200, par. 209, no. 45.

⁷⁰ Della Valle, Pietro, *Viaggi*, ed. Mario Schipano, Parte I, La Turchia, Lettera I, cap. 2, p. 24.

⁷¹ Lightfoot, J., in *Euangelium Sancti Matthaei Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* (Opera Omnia), on Mt. 10:4, Vol. 2, p. 313.

uti non licet ū' asqōreṭiya'" A gloss explains the nature of these garments, saying, "Haec sunt indumenta quaedam coriacea, quaedam de genere vestium." The Gemara further inquires: "Quid est 'asqōreṭiya'? Respondit Bar bar Channah, . . . Indumentum Coriarii." This leathern apron is worn by carriers over their other clothing. Hence, John Lightfoot believes that the epithet *Iscariot* is derived from 'as^eqōrṭiya' and that Judas was thus called because of the pocket in his girdle in which he kept the money, or from the fact that he was a tanner. In such aprons purses were sewed to hold the coins. Hence, Judas had the title of "the purse-bearer," or "Judas with the Apron." In Acts 9:43 we read of a certain Simon, a tanner, who is identified by Lightfoot with Judas' father.

3. *Iscariot As a Manner of Death*

Those who think that the epithet *Iscariot* was imposed upon Judas after his death connect the word with 'as^ekara', signifying *death by strangulation*, because he went and hanged himself. This interpretation is likewise suggested by John Lightfoot.⁷² The Rabbis deduce from Ps. 68:21⁷³ that there are 903 kinds of death on this earth. The most painful and irritating is that of 'as^ekara' or *angina*, an inflammatory affection of the throat causing suffocative spasms. In the tract Sabbath⁷⁴ it is defined as a sickness that originates in the entrails and rises to the throat where it tends to close the air passages.

The same Semitic root may also indicate a disease. This attempt to explain the term derives it from the Hebrew 'as^ekara', a disease which causes suffocation.⁷⁵ Origen,⁷⁶ the first to hold

⁷² *Loc. cit.*

⁷³ The "exitus mortis" of the Vulgate.

⁷⁴ De Celleno, Julius Bartoloccio, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 23: "Infirmetas est Ascara: quae incipit in visceribus et perficitur in gutture, vocaturque obstructio." John Lightfoot (*loc. cit.*) observes: "Cum ergo Judas miserrima strangulatione periret, quippe quod a Diabolo strangularetur, non mirum, si nomini ejus inureretur haec mortis infamia ut vulgo diceretur 'Judas Iscariotes,' aut 'Judas ille, qui periit a strangulatione.'"

⁷⁵ Suicerus, J. C., *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, Vol. 1, p. 404, s.v. ἀπάγχω.

⁷⁶ Origines, *In Matthaeum Commentariorum Series*, 78, MPG 13, 1727: "Audiui quemdam exponentem patriam proditoris Judae secundum inter-

this opinion, informs us that according to a Hebrew interpretation proposed by a certain scholar of his time, *Iscariot* was thought to mean *suffocated*. It is properly a Syriac surname,⁷⁷ '*As^ekarayōṭa*', and is connected with the Hebrew root *sākhar*, to close, to stop. A Greek equivalent of this Semitic root is said to be present in Mk. 1:25 and Acts 7:57. Furthermore, the Rabbis and Jewish medical books claim that '*as^ekara*' is the same as *mḥnq* (suffocation) mentioned in Job 7:15. Death resulting from this disease is swift and painful, for the narrow cavity situated in the neck tends to obstruct the normal flow of air, closes the openings of the air passages and causes instantaneous suffocation. Afflicted with this disease in childhood, his parents began to call him '*as^ekarayōṭa*', *man of suffocation*. He ended his earthly existence by suffocation as a just punishment from God for the sin of betrayal.

4. *Iscariot As An Epithet of Reproach*

Unlike the preceding theory, which attempted to derive the origin of the epithet from the manner of his death, the following connects it with a Semitic root that would tend to describe a certain personal trait in Judas' character. The sobriquet is one of reproach, given him because of the unparalleled deed he had wrought. It is not a title free from reproach, as the proponents of the foregoing theories have suggested. Rather, it is an opprobrious nickname and truly a name that was spoken with execration. The first of these—for this group is subdivided into three separate theories—identifies the name *Iscariot* with "assassin, bandit."

a. *Iscariot, "assassin, bandit"*

Suggested by Wellhausen,⁷⁸ the emergence of Judas' epithet is said to be derived from the Greek *συκάρπιος*, *assassin, bandit*. Wellhausen hesitates to say "yes" categorically and makes no attempt

pretationem Hebraicam exsuffocatum vocari. Quod si ita est, magna convenientia invenitur nominis patriae ejus cum exitu mortis ipsius, quoniam et ipse laqueo se suspendens prophetiam nominis patriae suae suffocatus implevit."

⁷⁷ Suicerus, J. C., *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 404, s.v. ἀπάγχω.

⁷⁸ Wellhausen, J., *Das Evangelium Marci*, on Mk. 3:19, pp. 24-26.

to develop his conjecture. The Sicarii mentioned in Acts 21:38 and described by Josephus⁷⁹ made their appearance after the time of the traitor. There is no reason, therefore, for associating him with a company of bandits, for although little is known about his life, yet it remains a fact that as the Gospel accounts tell us, Judas remained with the chosen group of Disciples during the entire public ministry of Jesus.

Convinced of the plausability of such an interpretation, Schulthess in 1917⁸⁰ champions Wellhausen's hypothesis. He thus supposes that Judas' surname was developed by way of a hypothetical aramaicised *iskaryāā* into the Greek Ἰσκαριώτης, the true origin of the word having been forgotten. Hence, the first Christians who spoke Aramaic, retaining Judas' Greek title of ὁ σικάριος but not understanding its true meaning, transliterated the word bodily into their own language, producing thereby a Semitic surname. On the supposition that the Aramaic scribe was not acquainted with the idioms of the Greek language but yet was sufficiently equipped to recognize a descriptive adjective in this word, he reproduced it in the form of Ἰσκαριώτης.

Five years later, in 1922, Schulthess⁸¹ abandons the above mentioned derivation in favor of a new interpretation. In this second attempt, the home of Judas is placed in Sichar in Samaria. He thus designates the new meaning as the older tradition current among Jewish Christians, while the interpretation espoused by him at first (sicarius) incorporates a later tradition. The derivation proceeds from the manner of reading the text as it lay before the translator of the Old Syriac, but which is completely lacking in the Greek. It must be here observed⁸² that the Syriac Sinaiticus recognizes only *s^ekariuto*; the Peshitto has *iskariuto*; and a weakly documented MS has *s^eqariuto*. Furthermore, the most reliable Syriac MSS throughout read *Kaf* instead of *Qof*. According to the fundamental Hebrew form 'iš *Q^eriyyōth*, we would be obliged to accept the latter reading of *s^eqariuto*. Since the Syriac versions were at first translated out of the Greek and not the Hebrew, the

⁷⁹ Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, XX, viii, 3 ed. Hudson, Vol. 2, p. 897.

⁸⁰ Schulthess, F., *Das Problem der Sprache Jesu*, pp. 41, 55.

⁸¹ Schulthess, F., "Zur Sprache der Evangelien," in *ZNtW*, Vol. 21 (1922), pp. 250-58.

⁸² Haugg, D., *Judas Iskarioth in den neutestamentlichen Berichten*, p. 78.

presence of a *Kaf* is easily explainable. The original reading (I)σκαριωθ was transcribed into *S^ekariuto*, the Semitic *Kaf* taken as the corresponding Greek sound (kappa). Schulthess, however, does the very opposite by working back from the Syriac into Greek. The Semitic *Kaf* sound represented in the Syriac text is taken to correspond with the Greek *chi*, (i)σχαριωτ, although there is no support for such a reading in any MS. He avers that (I)σχαριωτ preserves a hidden place-name, perhaps Σιχαρ or Συχαρ (Jn. 4:5). Judas, according to Schulthess, originated from Sichar, and became the first Samaritan convert. In view of the fact that Samaritans were arch-enemies of the Jews and consequently of the Jewish Messiah, it would be most fitting that a Samaritan should execute the deed of betrayal. The name underwent the following changes: Συχαρίτης to Συχαραιός, then to Συχαριώτης, with the meaning "the man from Sichar." The adoption of σικάριος in a later tradition changed the *chi* into *kappa*, producing σικαριώτης.

b. Iscariot, "who delivered him"

W. B. Smith⁸³ writes: "(I)skariot(h) is a very thinly disguised form of the Hebrew (sākhār in Piel) and simply means the *Surrenderer*, so that the recurrent phrases of the Greek text, 'who also delivered him up,' 'the Deliverer up' etc., are merely translations of the epithet (I)skariot(h), where the καὶ of the Greek seems to reecho the initial waw in the Hebrew."⁸⁴ For his proof, he has reference to Is. 19:4 wherein the hebraic root *sākhār*, thought to be present in Ἰσκαριώτης is employed. "I will deliver (w^esikar^eti) Egypt in to the hand of a hard master."⁸⁵ The LXX renders w^esikar^eti by παραδώσω, exactly as in Mt. 26:15.⁸⁶ The Greek verb παραδίδωμι, therefore, does not mean *to betray* but rather is associated with the notion of *giving up, handing over, delivering up, surrendering*. Such is said to be the sense given

⁸³ Smith, W. B., "Judas Iscariot," in *H. J.* Vol. 9 (1911), pp. 532-35. The same theory is repeated by W. B. Smith in his *Ecce Deus, studies in primitive Christianity*, pp. 306-09.

⁸⁴ Smith, W. B., "Judas Iscariot," in *H. J.*, Vol. 9 (1911), p. 535.

⁸⁵ Translation according E. J. Kissane, *The Book of Isaiah*, Vol. 1, p. 212.

⁸⁶ Smith also invokes Ez. 30:12, "I will sell (ûmākar^eti) the land," etc., and suggests that the samech may be mistaken for mem. However, the LXX (Swete's edition) on the same passage does not render it by παραδώσω as Smith would like us to believe; rather, it reads ἀπολῶ or αποδοσομαι in A.

to this verb everywhere in the N.T.,⁸⁷ except in connection with Judas where it is invariably translated *to betray*.⁸⁸ The Greek verb for *to betray*, *προδίδωμι*, was familiar and in one instance (Lk. 6:16 ὃς ἐγένετο προδότης, Vulgate "qui fuit proditor") is actually employed in that sense.⁸⁹ The text of the Sinaitic Syriac translates the Greek verb to mean *deliver up*, never *betray*, and even *προδότης* of Lk. 6:16 is rendered by *Deliverer-up*. The resemblance of Judas' surname with the hebraic *sākhar*, Smith proceeds to show, is not altogether accidental, for *sikar^eti* and *sakhar^eyōta'* are almost identical in form. This identity is still further established when we consider that *ʾIṣqariyyōth*, apparently the oldest form, demands *Tāw* instead of *Têth*, the latter being a later orthography. The initial Syriac aleph regularly employed as an aid to vocalization represents both a long *a* and a long *e*. The latter lengthened vowel, similar in sound, is confounded with a long *i*. Hence, the epithet in its final form was *ʾIṣkarīōτης*. Smith rightly observes that vocalizations, whether initial, medial or final, are not decisive in Semitic languages since slight vocalic changes do occur in different regions. The important fact is the presence of the Semitic radicals *s-k-r* in the epithet. According to this opinion, the phrase "who also delivered him" is a veritable translation of *ʾIṣkarīōτης*.

Against Smith's scholarly attempt at a possible derivation, it may be replied that the hebraic root *sākhar* occurs less frequently and, therefore, would not be too familiar to the Palestinian Jew. Its kindred form, *sāgar*, in Piel and Hiphil is the more common root employed to express the idea of *delivering up*. Schulthess in his *Lexicon Syropalaestinum*⁹⁰ does not list the word, although the root *s-k-r* is listed but with an altogether different signification, e.g., *to think, suppose, express an opinion*. The idea of

⁸⁷ For examples, consult Bruder, C. H., *Concordantiae omnium vocum Novi Testamenti Graeci*, s.v. *παράδιδοναι*.

⁸⁸ The Vulgate correctly translates the Greek verb *παράδιδωμι* by "tradere," e.g. Mt. 10:4; 26:25; 27:3; Lk. 22:48; Jn. 18:2,5; the newest Catholic revision of the N.T. (Confraternity of Christian Doctrine edition) renders the same passages by "to betray."

⁸⁹ Compare also 2 Tim. 3:4.

⁹⁰ Schulthess, F., *Lexicon Syropalaestinum*, pp. 130-31.

delivering up was no longer associated with this root among the Jews who spoke the syro-palestinian dialect.

c. Iscariot, "man of hostile encounter"

For the sake of record, the theory of derivation of the name *Iscariot*, as elaborated by Keil,⁹¹ is worthy of mention. According to his view, the epithet is a combination of 'iš and *q'eri* (Lev. 26:28ff), "man of hostile encounter."

d. Iscariot, "the false one"

A more probable derivation intended to convey an allusion to Judas' treacherous act is analysed as consisting of *šeqer*, *falsehood* and joined either to 'iš, *man* or to a prosthetic aleph. The traitor of our Lord, therefore, bore the title of "Judas, a man of falsehood," or simply, "Judas the false one."

In 1861 E. W. Hengstenberg suggested the derivation of 'iš *šeqārim*, "man of lies,"⁹² but J. Corluy,⁹³ in his comment on Jn. 6:72 (Vg) deems his explanation as less probable. Biblical scholars maintaining this interpretation are few in number. C. C. Torrey, the most ardent exponent of the theory, writes: "the probability is strong that the epithet was a reproach, an opprobrious appellation given to the man because of his deed."⁹⁴ Mgr. Le Camus,⁹⁵ J. Knabenbauer,⁹⁶ H. Olshausen⁹⁷ and E. I. Jacob⁹⁸ deem this theory worth mentioning, although the first two reject it as inadmissible on the grounds that the name has nothing to do with the act of betrayal. Ernest I. Jacob, author of the article in the "Universal Jewish Encyclopedia" which is the most recent

⁹¹ Cited by Knabenbauer, J., S.J., *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), on Mt. 10:4, I, 1, p. 435.

⁹² Hengstenberg, E. W., *Das Evangelium des heiligen Johannes*, on Jn. 6:71, Vol. 1, p. 419.

⁹³ Corluy, J., S. J., *Commentarius in Evangelium S. Joannis*, on Jn. 6:72 (Vg), p. 196.

⁹⁴ Torrey, C. C., "The Name 'Iscariot,'" in *HThRev*, Vol. 36 (1943), p. 58.

⁹⁵ Le Camus, Mgr., *La Vie de N.-S. Jésus-Christ*, Vol. 1, p. 468, note 1.

⁹⁶ Knabenbauer, J., S. J., *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), I, 1, p. 435.

⁹⁷ Olshausen, H., *Biblical Commentary on the Gospels*, on Mt. 10:4, Vol. 2, p. 28.

⁹⁸ Jacob, E. I., "Judas Iscariot," in *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 6, p. 248.

authoritative work published by the Jews, leaves the reader to make his own choice from among three possible derivations, as no preference is urged. Olshausen lists two possible meanings but seems to be more favorably disposed toward the place-name theory.

Can the interpretation of Torrey withstand the test of critical examination? The place-name theory, which attempts to localize the supposed city of Carioth, is doubtful. As was pointed out above, the Greek translators of the LXX interpreted *q^eriyyōth* of Jos. 15:25 to mean *cities*. Hesron, indeed, is a town in the south of Judea (Jos. 15:3) but appears to be distinct from Carioth-Hesron (Jos. 15:25). Furthermore, both the M.T. and the LXX make it identical with Hasor. The exact location of the site is too uncertain to make a reasonable identification. To say that the modern Arabic name of El-Kuryetein or Qaryaten preserves the memory of ancient Carioth, Judas' birth place, is precarious for the Arabic word *qaryatun* can also mean *village*.

John Lightfoot's conjecture is not without difficulties. The reference is clearly to Jn. 12:6 and 13:29 where *γλωσσόκομον* or the money-box of the Disciples is mentioned. Originally, it meant a wooden container used for holding the reeds or tongues (*γλῶσσαι*) of musical instruments. Later, it came to designate any kind of a box. In 2 Par. 24:8,10, it has the meaning of a coffer, a box with several compartments into which money was cast. The Vulgate's rendition of the word by *loculi* conveys the nature of such a box. Even the Aramaic borrows the word from the Greek and it appears as *glwsqm'* in the Talmud.⁹⁹ The sense in which the term is employed in Jn. 12:6 and 13:29 excludes the possibility of a purse sewn in an apron. The identification of Simon the tanner (Acts 9:43) with Judas' father is inadmissible on the grounds that it is too far-fetched to merit serious consideration.

The strangulation theory is chiefly based upon fictitious inventions of a popular legend and cannot be proven to rest upon Scriptural deductions. The manner of Judas' death as described by St. Matthew (27:5) and St. Luke (Acts 1:18) is considered

⁹⁹ Levesque, E., "Bourse," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Vigouroux), Vol. 1, col. 1900.

by weighty exegetes as being more correct. (See chap. on "Death of Judas.")

The true origin of Judas' surname is obscured in the Greek spelling. Why was this particular word left untranslated by the Evangelists, while other surnames having a Semitic composition were explained by these selfsame inspired writers? SS. James and John, called by a genuine Aramaic name "Boanerges," are further identified for the benefit of the Gentile reader as "sons of thunder" (Mk. 3:17). St. Luke (Acts 4:36) likewise obliges his readers with a translation of the proper name Barnabas, "son of consolation." In order to specify Nathanael's native city, St. John (21:2) designates precisely that he came from Cana of Galilee. No such designation of a similar type is offered by the Evangelists with reference to Judas' original city. He is called *Iscariot*, without a word of explanation as to the meaning of the epithet. In a number of passages, the epithet is completely absent, especially in Luke and Acts (see texts), which would show that it was not altogether necessary to characterize him any further. Perhaps, he was simply called *Judas* during his lifetime in his associations with Christ and the Apostles. That such might have been the case is attested by Lk. 22:48. St. Peter, in his speech before the assembled Apostles who came to elect a successor of Judas, calls the traitor by the name with which he entered the Apostolate (Acts 1:16,25). Having made sufficiently clear the identity of the betrayer, St. Matthew in 26:25 and 27:3 writes that this Judas is "one who betrayed him"; in 26:47 "one of the Twelve." St. Mark in one instance (14:43) omits the name *Iscariot*, although Codex Bezae and other minuscules have it in their respective copies. It is only after the Evangelists began writing their Gospels that Judas Iscariot was distinguished from the other Apostles, who bore a similar name, by an epithet that was to identify him unmistakably for all time.

The greatest difficulty presents itself in the Gospel of St. John. There both the father and son share equally the supposed family name of Iscariot (Jn. 6:71; 13:26). The Greek text on 6:71 employs the genitive, Ἰούδαν Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτου, showing that the epithet was applicable both to father and son. The Vulgate, however, connects the epithet with Judas only, and toward this end

considers the surname as a declinable noun putting it in the accusative to agree with Judas, "Judam Simonis Iscariotem" (6:72, Vg). Elsewhere (13:29; 18:2,3,5) in the same Gospel, St. John dispenses with the mention of the family name and calls him simply "Judas," or "he who betrayed him." The context manifestly points to the Apostle who later shamefully perpetrated the treacherous act of treason. However, the reading in Jn. 13:2, Ἰούδας Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτης, furnishes the necessary information as to whom the epithet rightfully belongs. Judas definitely is the son of Simon, as Jn. 6:71 suggests, but with this difference that here (Jn. 13:2) the name *Iscariot* is a qualifying word referring back to Judas, not to his father. The sense is: "Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon."¹⁰⁰ Père Braun¹⁰¹ in his comment on Jn. 6:71 considers *Iscariot* as a determinant referring back to *Judas*, not to *Simon*. When St. John had occasion to mention the traitor's name in his Gospel for the first time, he gave us the name of his father without adding any particulars about him. But when he speaks of Judas elsewhere (12:4; 13:2), the epithet is associated exclusively with the betrayer. The name was clear from the beginning but an error had crept in somewhere along the line. Lagrange¹⁰² adds that any copyist would greatly appreciate this piece of information regarding the correct application of *Iscariot*. Realizing the ambiguity in the transmission of names existing between Jn. 6:71 and 13:2, the copyist inserted both readings without either correcting the error or adverting to the fact that a divergent reading would later on result. The epithet *Iscariot*, therefore, applies only to Judas, for there was no Simon Iscariot.¹⁰³

Many MSS do not regard the name *Iscariot* as a composite of ἰσ and *q^eriyyōth*, which fact consequently precludes the possibility of a place-name. The occurrence of Σκαριωθ or σκαριωτ or even Σκαριωτης, especially in D and other important uncials as well as

¹⁰⁰ Braun, F.-M., O. P., *Évangile selon Saint Jean* (La Sainte Bible), on Jn. 13:2, Vol. 10, p. 419.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

¹⁰² Lagrange, R., O. P., *Évangile selon Saint Jean* (Études Bibliques), on Jn. 6:71, p. 192.

¹⁰³ Torrey, C. C., *op. cit.*, p. 56.

in a number of minuscules,¹⁰⁴ suggests that the origin of his name had nothing to do with a geographical locality; but on the contrary it must have been derived from some Semitic root that would indicate a distinguishing trait in his character. Such is the orthography adopted by Syriac lexicographers.¹⁰⁵ Origen¹⁰⁶ and certain MSS of St. Jerome's works¹⁰⁷ follow the spelling *Scariota* or *Schariotes*. Evidence for the same orthography is present in many Old Latin versions and Codices of the Vulgate.¹⁰⁸ Calmet¹⁰⁹ informs us that "Veteres multi legunt Scariotem, pro Ischariote." In view of this information regarding the twofold orthography of Judas' surname, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the word had undergone a modification in the process of transcription and that the original reading was Σκαριωθ (or σκαριωτ, Σκαριωτης) without a prosthetic vowel. If the initial syllable 'Ισ- in the Greek transliterates the Hebrew 'iš, the vowel is of course long and unchangeable, but the Syriac (uniformly Skaryota), Codex Bezae primarily and a number of Latin MSS show far less concern about inserting an 'iš at the beginning of the name. The quantity of the initial syllable, according to all rules of Greek vowels, would necessarily become long by position in that it precedes two consonants (sigma and kappa). Nowhere in the

¹⁰⁴ See the variant readings on Mt. 10:4; 26:14; Mk. 3:19; 14:10; Lk. 6:16; 22:3; Jn. 6:71; 12:4.

¹⁰⁵ Chase, F. H., "The Name Iscariot in Codex Bezae," in *ExpT*, Vol. 9 (1897-98), p. 189.

¹⁰⁶ Origenes, *In Matthaeum Commentariorum Series*, 78, MPG 13, 1726: "Cum sint ergo duo discipuli hoc nomine nominati, secundum quod Lucas evangelista dinumerat inter duodecim fuisse apostolos, Judam Jacobi et Judam Scariotam."

¹⁰⁷ S. Hieronymus, *Commentaria in Evangelium Matthaei*, I, x, MPL 26, 62, note c: "Judas autem Scariotes, vel, vico, in quod ortus est, vel ex tribu, etc."

¹⁰⁸ According to the critical apparatus of Merk's *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, the following variants are found in the Old Latin versions and codices of the Vulgate: Mt. 10:4: Scariot(h)es codd.; Mk. 14:10: Scariotis As Hs (JDLW); Jn. 6:72: Scariot(h)is S-FM^rJGUDQsVW; Jn. 12:4: Scariot(h)is A^rIssUE^rThW aur; Jn. 13:22: Scariot(h)is SFZsBI^cJGU^sERT^hW.

¹⁰⁹ Calmet, A., *Commentarius in Evangelium S. Matthaei* (Commentarius Litteralis in Omnes Libros V. et N. Testamenti), on Mt. 10:4, Vol. 8, p. 89.

variant reading (Σκαρ. or Scar.) is there an indication of a long vowel at the beginning of the word, for the name begins with a double consonant (Σκ). The 'I-, therefore, is a syllable standing by itself without being joined to any other consonant. Consequently "the evidence points rather to a prosthetic syllable."¹¹⁰

Dalman has collected examples from the Talmud to show that, when a writer wished to specify a place of origin after a man's name, the common procedure in Palestine in Talmudic times was to prefix the Hebrew noun 'iš,¹¹¹ although Hebrew was not necessarily the spoken language in the place where such a surname had its origin. Schlatter¹¹² is quite opposed to this opinion inasmuch as he seeks to prove that such formations with 'iš did not belong to the popular language of the common people. Holding a similar opinion, Wellhausen¹¹³ avers, that to think the Greek 'Ισ- as a transliteration of the hebraic 'iš is out of the question. Granted that the language of the Talmudic and Midrashic literature was Hebrew, nevertheless it belonged to the "language of scholars," as distinguished from the vernacular.¹¹⁴ The illustrations provided by Dalman are therefore taken chiefly from the "language of scholars." Contrariwise, the Gospel accounts reflect the simple expressions of the common people, devoid of classical and elegant formation of words and phrases that could not be readily understood by the average contemporary reader or listener, as the case might be. "The Greek of the New Testament in general differs greatly from classical Greek and is on the whole of a more popular and uncultivated style."¹¹⁵ This investigation therefore leads us to form the following conclusion, namely, that the epithet was given to Judas by the common people, enshrined in the parlance of their own language.¹¹⁶

Since the consonants of the Greek Σκαρ, which form the root of Judas' epithet, are the same as that of the Hebrew *šeqer*,

¹¹⁰ Torrey, C. C., *op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹¹¹ Dalman, G., *Words of Jesus*, pp. 51-52.

¹¹² Schlatter, A., *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, on Mt. 10:4, p. 237.

¹¹³ Wellhausen, J., *Das Evangelium Marci*, p. 25.

¹¹⁴ Schürer, E., *op. cit.*, Division II, Vol. 1, p. 10.

¹¹⁵ Cadbury, H. J., *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (Harvard Theological Studies VI), p. 4.

¹¹⁶ Torrey, C. C., *op. cit.*, p. 54.

falsehood, deceit, lies, the fitness of the word becomes at once apparent. There exists no evidence that the appellation was either borne by Judas during his lifetime or that it was equally applicable to his father. The name must have been given him sometime after the deed of betrayal. As the story of this inhuman event was broadcast, the early Palestinian Christians began to associate at once the betrayer of Christ with the personification of falsehood, because the man was false to Christ. We do not deny the fact that the twelfth-named disciple was externally loyal to the Savior up to this point. At any rate, since the infamous deed was consummated in a treacherous manner, it is not impossible that the community would have desired to perpetuate the memory of this man by a reproachful name that would characterize him forever.¹¹⁷

Can such a theory survive critical examination? The Aramaic language has the same root with the same meaning as the Hebrew,¹¹⁸ and for this reason the former derivation can better explain the form Ἰσκαριώτης than the latter.

The Aramaic substantive for *deceit, treachery, falsehood* is šeqar, šiq'ra'.¹¹⁹ To construe an appellative out of this root two ways are most commonly used: either by building an intensive form, šaqqār, strengthening thereby the root idea; or by appending to the stem of the abstract noun an adjectival ending—ai. The latter construction is present in the name Scariot. The resultant, šaq'ray, would denote a man characterized by *falsehood*. The *a* vowel in this affirmative syllable is short, for as Torrey¹²⁰ claims, "the shortened pronunciation of an etymologically long *a* seems characteristic of the Palestinian speech." Nouns with affirmative -ai are found in all Semitic languages. According to

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

¹¹⁸ The Hebrew šeqer occurs in the following passages of the O.T.: Ex. 5:9, false words; Deut. 19:18, a false witness; Lev. 5:24; 19:12, to swear falsely; Jer. 5:31; 20:9, to prophesy false things; 4 Kgs. 9:12; Jer. 37:14, as an adverb, "It is false!"; Ps. 101:7, falsehoods; Prov. 17:4, a man of falsehood.

¹¹⁹ Jastrow, M., *A Dictionary of the Targumin, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, Vol. 2, p. 1626, s.v. šeqer.

¹²⁰ Torrey, C. C., *op. cit.*, p. 59, note 5.

Gray¹²¹ they denote *connection with*, or *origin from*, e.g., Syriac *malkāyā*, *royal*. A quotation illustrating the usage of this word is found in the Talmud (Yebamoth 55b), "Either he is a liar (*šaq̄ra'y*) or I am a liar (*šaq̄ray*)."¹²² Now, when the word is made definite, "the false one," an ending *-a* is added to the noun with an adjectival affirmative *šeq̄aryā'*. Thus, the name of Judas Iscariot in a Semitic form appeared as *Yehudha šeq̄aryā'*, Judas the false. In order to facilitate pronunciation of the initial syllable, a prosthetic aleph was later prefixed to *Scariot*, becoming *Yehudha 'iseq̄aryā'*.¹²³

There yet remains the question of accounting for the presence of an adjectival ending appended to an abstract noun form. One would naturally expect an *-aios* ending, the usual way of forming Greek names transcribed from the Aramaic. Occurrences of such a procedure are attested in Mt. 2:23 Ναζωπαῖος (the consecrated, or a native of Nazareth); Mt. 10:3 Βαρθολομαῖος (son of Tolmai); Θαδδαῖος ("the big-chested"); Mt. 10:4 Σίμων ὁ Καναναῖος (Simon the Zealot). *A pari*, the epithet of Judas should have received a similar construction, either Ἰσκαραιώτης or Σκαραιῖος. The ending *-ωτης* is found in Matthew, Luke and John; but in Mark the regular ending of Hebrew nouns *-ωθ* is given; Codex Bezae, Latin, Syriac, Armenian and Georgic versions on Mt. 26:4 end on *-ωτ*. The *Iscariotes* of the Vulgate is uniformly present in all

¹²¹ Gray, L. H., *Introduction to Semitic Comparative Linguistics*, par. 175, p. 47.

¹²² Cited by Jastrow, *loc. cit.*

¹²³ Torrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-61. To avoid harshness in pronunciation at the beginning of words, a prosthetic aleph is often prefixed. It is employed chiefly where a word otherwise begins with a double consonant separated in pronunciation by movable shewa, e.g. 'ez^{ro}' for z^{rōa}, arm (Jer. 32:21; Job. 31:22): 'eph^{rōah} for ph^{rōah}, progeny (Deut. 22:6; Ps. 8:4); 'egh^{rōph} for gh^{rōph}, fist (Ex. 21:18; Is. 58:4); 'eth^{nān} for t^{nān}, gift (Ex. 16:34, 41; Deut. 23:19; Os. 9:1; Mich. 1:7; Is. 23:17, 18); 'akh^{zābh} for k^{zābh}, false (Jer. 15:18; Mich. 1:14). For prosthetic vowel changes in the Greek language, see Robertson, A. T., *op. cit.*, p. 1209; cfr. also Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, par. 19m; Gesenius, G., *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti*, Vol. 1, s.v. aleph, p. 3. Compare the transition from Latin into French of the following words, as spiritus, esprit; status, état; Stephanus, Étienne.

Gospels alike. However, the Old Syriac, a version of the N.T. made by Palestinians in the first quarter of the second century but certainly before the appearance of the Peshitta,¹²⁴ lacked altogether the ending *-oth*,¹²⁵ common to Hebrew proper names. The epithet was already written with the affirmative *-ωτης*. Taking the final *-ης* as a Greek ending for nouns, the scribe replaced it with the regular ending *-ā* (long a), thus becoming *Š^eqaryōtā'*. The appellative was perfectly known to all who were acquainted with the story of Judas, so that the translator did not deem it necessary to define further its meaning for the readers. Exclusive association of this word with the Apostle Judas had firmly fixed its usage among the early Christians. As often as the epithet was uttered by anyone, there was no difficulty in recognizing its true meaning. Instead of attempting to translate it, as was done with the Aramaic name of Simon the Zealot,¹²⁶ the inspired writers retained the exact form of the Aramaic word in a regularly formed Greek transcription. A Greek ending that would suit the original meaning was thus appended to the Aramaic form. A gentile or denominative substantive is formed from proper names by secondary suffixes. Thus, nouns of this class which end in *-iā* are, as a rule, given the ending *-ωτης*, e.g. *Σικελιά*, Sicily, forms *Σικελιώτης*, a native of Sicily; *Φθιά*, Phthia, a city in Thessaly, gives *Φθιώτης*; *στρατιά* army, forms *στρατιώτης*, soldier. Accordingly, *'Is^eqaryā'*, transliterated into Greek produced *Ἰσκαριώτης*.¹²⁷

We have outlined the principal theories regarding the derivation of *Iscariot*. Though many of them are linguistically possible, yet absolute certainty with our present sources of information cannot be attained. One must also keep in mind that names have a tendency to place themselves outside the province of grammar. Furthermore, we often meet in proper names forms which the use of the language does not otherwise recognize, e.g. *r^eḥabh^eyāh*, *Jah makes wide*, where the Kal has the signification of Hiphil (1 Par. 23:17; 24:21; 26:25); *m^elaṭ^eyāh*, *Jah delivers*, a Kal form with

¹²⁴ Kenyon, F., *Our Bible and Ancient Manuscripts*, pp. 160-63.

¹²⁵ Torrey, C. C., *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹²⁶ The Aramaic name of Simon the Zealot is grecized in Mt. 10:4; in Acts 1:13 it is translated into the Greek.

¹²⁷ Torrey, C. C., *op. cit.*, p. 61.

the signification of Piel and Hiphil (Neh. 3:7). Hence, this analogy can perhaps explain the presence of an adjectival -ωτης ending appended to the proper name *Iscariot*.

That Judas was called *the false one* is not without scriptural evidence. In Jn. 6:70 (Greek) the Master calls Judas διάβολος. This word is not exclusively the devil's name. In Greek literature it has the meaning of *calumniator, slanderer*.¹²⁸ Moulton and Milligan¹²⁹ have illustrated from papyri that the word connotes *deception*. St. Paul¹³⁰ employs this root in the sense of *accusing falsely*. As a substantive, written ὁ διάβολος with an article, it signifies *calumniator, false accuser or slanderer* in the LXX.¹³¹ The manner of designating the one called in Hebrew *hasātān*, the prince of evil (Job 1; Zach. 3:1ff.; Apoc. 12:10), ὁ διάβολος with the article, is applied to him *par excellence*.¹³² Men who play the part of the devil in mind and will or are prompted and governed by him are said εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου (Jn. 8:44; 1 Jn. 3:8). The same are also designated as the children of the devil (1 Jn. 3:10), or "sons of the devil" (Mt. 13:38; Jn. 8:38; Acts 13:10; 1 Jn. 3:10). The name διάβολος, therefore, is applied figuratively to an individual who is said to possess some characteristics of the father of lies (Jn. 6:70; Mt. 16:23; Mk. 8:33).¹³³ St. John Chrysostom¹³⁴ and Euthymius Zigabenus¹³⁵ bring out both explanations. The traitor in Jn. 6:70 is not identified by Christ with the prince of demons, for He would have called him Beelzebub, as He had done on another occasion (Lk. 11:19). With this word Jesus

¹²⁸ Liddell, H. G., and Scott, R., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, a New Edition, Vol. 1, p. 389, s.v. διαβάλλω; and Vol. 1, p. 390, s.v. διαβολή.

¹²⁹ Moulton, J. H., and Milligan, G., *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, pp. 146-47, s.v. διαβάλλω.

¹³⁰ 1 Tim. 3:11; 2 Tim. 3:3; Tit. 2:3.

¹³¹ Est. 7:4; 8:1.

¹³² Mt. 4:1,5,8,11; 13:39; 25:41; Lk. 4:2,3,5,13; 8:12; Jn. 8:44; 13:2; Acts 10:38; Eph. 4:27; 6:11; 1 Tim. 3:6; 2 Tim. 2:26; James 4:7; 1 Pet. 5:8; Jude 9; Apoc. 2:10; 12:9; 12:12; 20:9.

¹³³ Thayer, J. H., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* p. 135, s.v. διάβολος.

¹³⁴ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Joannem*, hom. XLVII (al. XLVI), 3, MPG 59, 267.

¹³⁵ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentarius in Joannem*, VI, 70, MPG 129, 1259.

wished to stress the internal mind and conduct of Judas. Certainly, he was not devilish from the very beginning of his Apostolate but became so in the course of time. By his growing unbelief in the divinity of Christ and his incipient hypocritical behavior, Judas' soul was brought to such a condition that he was growing false towards his Master. Christ recognized this trait of falsehood, hence called him by a name that aptly fitted his internal disposition.¹³⁶ Now, although the Hebrew *šeqer* and the Greek *διάβολος* have nothing in common, philologically speaking, nevertheless, there exists a similarity in idea. In any case, he was false to the cause he had undertaken. One year before His Passion, Christ had already characterized Judas' internal deportment by an expression that bore out the real state of his soul, which was faithless and hypocritical. After the deed of betrayal, the Apostles probably recalled what Christ had said at Capharnaum concerning the duplicity of Judas' character. The idea remained with the Apostles so that Judas was known as *the false one*, par excellence. The epithet *Iscariot*, therefore, preserves the sinister designation of reproach, a name which designates his true character.

It is furthermore interesting to note that Schulthess¹³⁷ in his "Lexicon Syropalaestinum" lists the emphatic *šeqarya'* as the equivalent of the Greek *ὑποκριτής*. This word occurs only in the Synoptic Gospels and in all instances¹³⁸ save one¹³⁹ the plural number is used. Torrey¹⁴⁰ suspects that "for this reason it happens that the true history of the epithet has not always been understood." The similarity is quite striking and points toward the direction that *Ἰσκαριώτης* has some association with the notion of hypocrisy, falsehood and the like.

It is, therefore, more probable to assume that *Iscariot* has no reference to a place-name, but rather to an epithet of reproach. We grant that this derivation is only a probable conjecture. We

¹³⁶ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 87; Sickenberger, J., "Leben Jesu" in *Biblische Zeitfragen*, X Folge, 4-6, p. 90.

¹³⁷ Schulthess, F., *Lexicon Syropalaestinum*, p. 214.

¹³⁸ Mt. 6:2,5,16; 22:18; 23:13,15,23,27,29; Mk. 12:15; Lk. 13:15.

¹³⁹ Mt. 7:5.

¹⁴⁰ Torrey, C. C., *op. cit.*, p. 60.

possess no sources of information that would provide us with a true equivalent of that epithet. The Semitic word has reached us only in a grecized form. From the manner of Judas' internal deportment as characterized by Christ Himself, the suggested derivation linguistically has more in its favor than the theories hitherto proposed. The Evangelists left the word untranslated. But the first Christians knew well the actual signification of the epithet to such an extent that they considered it unnecessary to delineate its meaning any further. The present orthography in all languages transliterates the word without giving any explanatory note. Tradition likewise does not come to our aid, and with the *argumentum ex silentio* little can be proven. Conjectures on etymology, therefore, cannot be decisive for they cannot be supported by even one clear example.

C. ORIGIN OF JUDAS ISCARIOT

The foregoing conclusion on the possible derivation of the name *Iscariot* fails to throw light on the problem of his native province. Many attempts, as we have seen above, have been made to assign a city, either in Judea, Galilee and even in Samaria, whence Judas is thought to have originated. All are more or less conjectural, and none perfectly satisfactory. The epithet as such does not contain an allusion to his origin. The N.T. accounts likewise provide us with no definite clue as to the general locality of Judas' place of abode. Tradition, as far as it speaks, makes him a Judean. In the Ethiopic genealogies of the Twelve Apostles, Judas is said to proceed from the house of Dan,¹⁴¹ which is certainly situated within the borders of Judea. Denis Bar Salibi¹⁴² informs us that his home was in Jerusalem. According to the Toldot Yešu¹⁴³ Judas was a wealthy land-owner, having property outside of Jerusalem. He possessed two homes, one in the city proper and another in the country. The majority of biblical scholars believe the name to have some association with Carioth

¹⁴¹ Budge, E. A. W., *The Contendings of the Apostles*, Vol. 2, p. 50.

¹⁴² Dionysius Bar Salibi, *Commentaria in Evangelia*, on Mt. 27:5, CSCO, Scriptores Syri, Versio, Series Secunda, Vol. 99, p. 83.

¹⁴³ Krauss, S., "Une Nouvelle Recension Hébraïque du Toldot Yešu," in *R. E. J.*, nouvelles série, Vol. 3 (1938), p. 71.

mentioned in Jos. 15:25. However, the exact location of this city is doubtful, for the LXX does not translate it as a proper name for a town but rather understands it as the plural of a common noun. Various other places have been proposed; none to our regret are certain. Was Judas' native birth place obliterated from the face of the globe as a divine manifestation of anger in order to remove all trace and memory of the place that had produced a traitor? Surely, present day dwellers of Palestine should have some recollection from tradition regarding the general vicinity of Judas' birth place. We possess no definite information.

Assuming that he was from the province of Judea and in view of the feeling of contempt that Judeans held toward the people of Galilee, we have some basis for surmising that he harbored emotions of jealousy. The province of Galilee, separated from Judea by Samaria, was situated in the tribal territory of Issachar, Zabulon, Aser and Nephtali. Its name Galil (circle) originally was applied to the circle of twenty northern cities ceded by Solomon to Hiram, king of Tyre, in recognition of the material and work furnished for the construction of the Temple (3 Kgs. 9:11). Since this region was scarcely populated by Jews, it is readily seen why Solomon was willing to surrender this country to Hiram. Its ordinary designation, "Galilee of the nations" (Is. 8:23; 1 Mach. 5:15; Mt. 4:15), was adopted because the Gentiles comprised the greater part of its population. During the period of the Babylonian captivity these same Gentiles, recognizing the rich and fruitful possibilities of the two lower allotments, invaded and extended the circle wider so as to include Issachar and Zabulon. As a result, the whole region came to be known as Galilee. After the Machabees had beaten back these invaders in an attempt at restoring the prestige of the Jewish race, they made no change in the name (1 Mach. 5:20). It is, therefore, only natural that many foreign influences affected the customs and the language of this province.¹⁴⁴

John Lightfoot¹⁴⁵ illustrates from the Talmud slight differ-

¹⁴⁴ Le Camus, Mgr., *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 75-76.

¹⁴⁵ Lightfoot, J., *Centuria Chorographica Matthaeo Praemissa* (Opera Omnia), Vol. 2, p. 232.

ences between Judea and Galilee in respect of the form and manner of writing the payment of the dowry; of servile work permitted on the eve of the Passover; of the annual offering of the half-shekel (têrûmâh); of varying customs in the conduct between betrothed persons. Concerning dialectical differences in pronunciations, the Galileans confounded the gutturals, e.g., *Ain* with *Aleph*, *He* with *Heth*, and also *Kaf* with *Beth*.¹⁴⁶ St. Peter's distinctive Galilean dialect was immediately noticed by the people of Jerusalem, "Surely thou also art one of them, for even thy speech betrays thee" (Mt. 26:73).

Of all the provinces of Palestine, Galilee seems to have been under the greatest burden of ignominy and reproach. The country itself bordered upon the lands of idolatrous, uncircumcised nations. The people generally were looked upon as more rude, unpolished and barbarous than the rest. Indeed, both Jew and Gentile alike conspired in this, that they thought they could not fix a greater title of reproach upon our Savior and His Apostles than that of a Galilean. "Can anything good come out of Nazareth?" (Jn. 1:46) said Nathanael through his natural reluctance to accept Nazareth, an insignificant townlet, mentioned by no prophet, as the place whence the expected Messiah would come forth. On another occasion, the Pharisees doubted too the fact that the Messiah was to originate from that province (Jn. 7:41), for no prophet arises out of Galilee (Jn. 7:52).¹⁴⁷

The fact, that Judas was not a Galilean but a Judean and, consequently, an heir to such hostile and traditional opposition existing between the two provinces, might throw light on his growing internal dissatisfaction, duplicity of character and imagined injuries. Who knows whether or not he might have taken great offense at the other Apostles in their quarrel over precedence (Lk. 22:24-30)? His sectional antipathies here would surely have an opportunity to assert themselves. As the sole incumbent from Judea in the Apostolic College, he should have been rightly the greatest in the kingdom of the Father, for in his country were located the Holy City, the Temple, the High Priesthood. Its people, therefore, were extremely jealous in maintaining

¹⁴⁶ Lightfoot, J., *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 232-33.

¹⁴⁷ Le Camus, Mgr., *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 76-77.

religious hegemony. Judas, seeing that it was to pass over to a group of Galileans, would have rebelled against this transfer of religious authority from the eminently Jewish center to the northern province.¹⁴⁸

We learn from Acts 2:7 that when the multitude from every nation heard the Apostles on the first Christian Pentecost, "they were all amazed and marvelled, saying, 'Behold, are not all these that are speaking Galileans?'" We know that Judas Iscariot was no longer with them. St. Luke, therefore, by this universal proposition wishes to indicate that the body of the Apostles that remained after the Crucifixion were Galileans. Acts 2:7 alone would not prove definitely that Judas was not a Galilean for he was dead at this time. The remark made by the people gathered together for the Pentecostal celebration in Jerusalem tends to insinuate that *all* the Apostles without exception were Galileans. Certainly, word was spread about concerning the Apostles, and to these men from all parts of the neighboring countries information must have reached as to the origin of Christ's chosen Twelve. The literal meaning present in the minds of the multitude was: all the Apostles, excepting none, originated from the upper province.

Then, too, there may exist in the Synoptic Gospels variations in orthography of Judas' surname; but in no instance does the variant ἀπὸ καρρωτοῦ occur. It is found only in the Gospel of St. John (Jn. 6:71; 12:4). The scribe, desiring to give further details about the traitor, inserted this phrase in order to hint at Judas' origin. In a simple phrase the scribe probably wished to inform his readers that this Judas came from a region where palm-trees grew in abundance. Palm-trees as a rule in the time of Jesus Christ were a rare occurrence in the hills and northern provinces.¹⁴⁹ This would make a single tree in such a situation a landmark. Were Judas from a region where such a single tree grew, the Evangelists or ecclesiastical historians would not leave this fact unnoticed. Moreover, the phrase ἀπὸ καρρωτοῦ is general, indicating no particular territory. From writers of natural his-

¹⁴⁸ Bruce, A. B., *The Training of the Twelve*, pp. 373-74.

¹⁴⁹ Levesque, E., "Palmier," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Vigouroux), Vol. 4, col. 2062.

tories, such as Pliny,¹⁵⁰ Tacitus¹⁵¹ and Strabo,¹⁵² we secure valuable information regarding the region in Palestine where the palm-tree grew in splendor and abundance. Judea, of all the provinces, was famous and prolific in the growth of this tall and stately tree. With the palm-tree so abundant in Judea, it is possible to conjecture that the scribe who inserted ἀπὸ καρνωτοῦ in place of Ἰσκαριώτης did so in order to indicate that Judas did not proceed from Galilee. Then, too, it is remarkable that in the first two instances where St. John introduces Iscariot in his Gospel this explanatory note occurs. The scribe had occasion to insert it likewise in 13:2 and 26. But thinking that he had already made clear the added detail, he wrote the usual Ἰσκαριώτης as found in the copy before him.

If Judas Iscariot was a Judean, he may have become a disciple at the time of Christ's ministry outside of Jerusalem mentioned in Jn. 3:22.

¹⁵⁰ Bostock, J., and Riley, H. T., translated by, *The Natural History of Pliny*, XIII, 4, pp. 175-76.

¹⁵¹ Tacitus, *Histories*, 5, 6, ed. Loeb, p. 184.

¹⁵² Strabo, *Geography*, 17, 1, 15, ed. Loeb, p. 60; *ibid.*, 17, 1, 51, ed. Loeb, p. 132.

CHAPTER III

LIFE OF JUDAS ISCARIOT ACCORDING TO THE APOCRYPHA

TO WRITE the early life of Judas Iscariot is a difficult task. Little is to be gleaned from the writings of Church historians. For, although there may appear copious notices on the rest of the Apostles, nevertheless, the betrayer of our Lord pitifully merits none, except in apocryphal legends. Even these are brief.

Lest we interrupt the history of the life of Judas Iscariot as given by the Evangelists—which would break the continuity of the N.T. accounts—we shall present first a description of the man as found in popular legends or Apocrypha.

In the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*,¹ we are informed that Judas was possessed by the devil in his early childhood. When he smote Jesus, the demon went out of the future traitor in the form of a dog.

Persuaded by the Jews to become a disciple of Jesus, he remained in His company for a period of two years, not so much in the interest of following His teachings but in the interest of betraying Him. Toward this end the hireling had been paid by his Jewish sympathizers a daily wage of a didrachma of gold.² Another tradition, not recorded in the Gospels and consequently incapable of being traced to its source, shows Judas' unworthi-

¹ *Arabic Gospel of Infancy*, XXXV, in James, M. R. (translator), *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 82.

² *Story of Joseph of Arimathea*, I, 3, in James, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-62. Compare the Toldot Yešu (Krauss, S., "Une Nouvelle Recension Hébraïque du Toldot Yešu," in *R. E. J.*, Nouvelle Série, Vol. 3 (1938), pp. 70-71) which proffers similar reasons for the entry of Judas into the Apostolic circle. Accordingly, Judas is said to have been numbered among the disciples of Jesus, and to have taken upon himself their habits and dress, only to betray his Master later on. The author of this document praises Judas for interring Christ in his own garden. This fact was concealed by Judas from his wife and children. Furthermore, the Haceldama is said to have belonged to Judas.

ness for membership in the future kingdom of the saints.³ During the feeding of the five thousand mentioned in Jn. 6:1-5, the *Coptic Narratives of the Ministry and the Passion*⁴ tell how Judas was the last to receive the bread, for he had no inheritance in it. According to the same apocryphal tradition, his wife was foster-mother to the child of Joseph of Arimathea. Although she encouraged his thieveries, yet Judas was very distrustful of her. He would, indeed, bring the ill-gotten goods home to his spouse, but watched carefully for every opportunity to cheat her of them. Whereupon she was wont to mock him for his hypocrisy. The same legendary account continues to point out that it was she who counseled Judas to betray Christ. Obedient to his wife, Judas went and bargained for his Master's betrayal. He fetched the thirty pieces of silver to her. When the money was brought into the house, the child of Joseph of Arimathea fell ill and would not stop crying. Wherefore Joseph came to its side, but the seven months old child begged him to take the price of blood away "from this evil beast" (Judas). The legend does not mention whether or not Joseph acquiesced in the boy's demand. At any rate, he did take the child away.⁵ Recension B of the Greek *Acts of Pilate*⁶ attributes the cause of accusation to the envy of certain Jews. Because of the great and many wonders wrought by Christ in Judea, a number of Jews, among whom was found Judas Iscariot, came to Pilate, Annas and Caiphas, speaking against Jesus. The story of the trial and Passion of our Lord

³ *Hippolytus on Daniel* 4:60, in James, *op. cit.*, p. 37: "So when the Lord was telling the disciples about the future kingdom of the saints, how glorious and wonderful it should be, Judas was struck by his words, and said: Who then shall see these things? And the Lord said: These things shall they see who are worthy."

⁴ *Coptic Narratives of the Ministry and the Passion*, 4, in James, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

⁵ *Coptic Narratives of the Ministry and the Passion*, 6 and 7, in James, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

⁶ Another MS of the same recension begins its narrative with the repentance of Judas. The price of blood is returned to the priests, but they in turn abuse him considerably for the treachery. Cfr. James, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

follows. Concerning the end of the traitor very curious details are given which we reproduce here in their entirety:

And departing to his house to make a halter of rope to hang himself, he found his wife sitting and roasting a cock on a fire of coals or in a pan before eating it: and saith to her: Rise up, wife, and provide me a rope, for I would hang myself, as I deserve. But his wife said to him: Why sayest thou such things? And Judas saith to her: Know of a truth that I have wickedly betrayed my master Jesus to the evil-doers for Pilate to put him to death: but he will rise again on the third day and woe unto us! And his wife said to him: Say not nor think not so: for as well as this cock that is roasting on the fire of coals can crow, just so well shall Jesus rise again, as thou sayest. And immediately at her word that cock spread his wings and crowed thrice. Then Judas yet more convinced, straightway made the halter of rope and hanged himself.⁷

In the year of Christ's Passion Caiphas and the multitude of the Jews did not observe the Passover on account of a robbery committed in the sanctuary of the Temple by Judas Iscariot. In order to place the accusation upon Jesus, Judas three days prior to His arrest assembled a council and said to the Jews that it was Christ Who absconded with the Law. Notwithstanding the vain protestations of Nicodemus, who was a "truthful man," Sarra, Caiphas' daughter, held as a prophetess by the Jews, prevailed on the Jews to sacrifice Jesus because He once remarked publicly, "I can destroy the temple." In the evening of the next day (Wednesday), the multitude reversed its original intention. They now sought to burn her with fire on the charges of stealing the Law and causing the non-observance of the Jewish Passover. Deftly employing all the resources of a woman's charm at her command, she stayed the wrath of the people. Thinking that by destroying Jesus the Law would be found and the feast kept, Annas and Caiphas paying gold to Judas asked him to testify falsely, saying that it was Jesus Who stole the Law. Judas, however, agreed but with this stipulation that the people

⁷ *Acts of Pilate*, Recension B of the Greek, Part 1, in James, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-16.

should be informed concerning the inveigling designs of the high priest, and that Jesus must be released, for many thought Him to be the true Son of God. The following morning at dawn (Thursday), Judas Iscariot, completely turning about face, entered the sanctuary and addressed the people saying, "What will ye give me if I deliver to you the destroyer of the law and robber of the prophets?" They promised and gave him thirty pieces of gold, for they knew not that it was Jesus of Whom Judas spoke. That same evening Christ was betrayed with a kiss by Judas to a guard of soldiers.⁸

According to the *Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle*,⁹ Jesus, after having been buried by Joseph of Arimathea, came to Amente (the underworld). He, then, arose and mounted the chariot of the Cherubim and came into hell. Finding there Judas Iscariot, He rebuked him at length, describing the sufferings the traitor must endure for his own sins. Thirty snakes, one for each sin, were sent to devour him. After Jesus arose from the dead, Death and Pestilence returned to Amente to protect it, but found it completely desolate save for three souls, those of Herod, Cain and Judas.

In the *Acts of Andrew and Paul*,¹⁰ the Apostle of the Gentiles is described as seeing Judas and hearing his story, whose principal features are the following. Having repented and given back the money, Judas afterwards met Jesus and asked for His forgiveness. Charged to fear no one but God, he was sent by Jesus to the desert to do penance. When the prince of demons met him there, he threatened to swallow him. Overtaken by fear Judas began to worship the demon. In the meantime, the traitor was taken away to the praetorium. There he decides to end his existence by hanging himself in order to meet Jesus in Amente. Jesus, however, came there to deliver all the souls except his. The high officials of Amente interceded for the soul of Judas before Satan, because they wished to have complete possession

⁸ *Story of Joseph of Arimathea*, I, 3,4, and II, 2,3,4, in James, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-83.

⁹ *The Book of Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle*, in James, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-83.

¹⁰ *The Acts of Andrew and Paul*, in James, *op. cit.*, pp. 472-73.

of at least one soul. Boasting of his might, Satan promised to oblige the powers of the underworld. In order to disprove Satan's vain boast, Christ commanded Michael to bring up the soul of Judas, only to point out to him the folly of his own action in worshiping Satan and committing suicide. Judas, thereupon, was returned to Amente to remain there till the day of the last judgment.

CHAPTER IV

CALL OF JUDAS ISCARIOT TO THE APOSTOLATE

CONCERNING the life of Judas Iscariot according to the N.T. accounts, we do not know more than what the Evangelists narrate. Apocryphal notices are legends, which cannot be verified historically. Outside of the Gospel data, but little is known of the betrayer of our Lord.

The selection of members for the Apostolate was a decisive event in the plan of Christ. When morning was come, He summoned His band of disciples (Lk. 6:13) and called unto Himself whom He would (Mk. 3:13). It was a free choice on the part of Christ, directed by prayer and uninfluenced by any human motive. By it Christ wished to affirm that they entered into the holy calling not by reason of their own personal fitness or ambition, but because they were called by God alone. He chose twelve among whom was Judas Iscariot, the last in the catalogue of the Apostles (Mt. 10:4; Mk. 3:19; Lk. 6:16).

The placing of the particle *καί* before Judas' name in the catalogue of the Synoptists has a peculiarly intensifying force, expressing the horror that the Evangelists felt in enumerating the traitor among their number.¹ The word in apposition, *ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης*, has the article but not so the proper name *Ἰούδας*.² The classical idiom of placing the article *ὁ*, with an aorist participle, as in Mt. 10:4, *ὁ καὶ παραδούς αὐτόν*, occurs in the N.T. to express "an act past with reference to the time of writing," though future in signification with reference to the actual performance of the deed of betrayal,³ which is not related until near the end of the Gospel (cfr. Mt. 26:49).

¹ Breen, A. E., *A Harmonized Exposition of the Four Gospels*, Vol. 2, p. 67.

² Robertson, A. T., *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, p. 760. Compare also Mt. 14:1 and Acts 1:13.

³ Robertson, A. T., *op. cit.*, p. 859. The aorist participle as a rule is timeless, for it is the action that is taken into account not the time of its performance (*Ibid.*, p. 1114).

It is to be emphasized that the verb used here to designate the treachery of Judas is not the usual *προδίδωμι* but *παράδίδωμι*.⁴ The customary word for *to betray* in classical Greek is *προδίδωμι*, which as a verb does not appear in the N.T. The corresponding substantive (*προδοτής*) occurs in Lk. 6:16 (cfr. also Acts 7:52 and 2 Tim. 3:4). *Παράδιδωμι* occurs in the N.T. about 152 times and is usually employed in the sense of *giving over something to someone* (*τινί τι*), or of *giving oneself or others to something* (*τινί εἰς*).⁵ Other meanings: *to hand down* (oral or written tradition), *to communicate*, *to entrust*, *to grant*.⁶ Liddell and Scott⁷ have demonstrated from classical Greek that *παράδιδωμι* may also indicate a "collateral notion of treachery," like *προδίδωμι*, Lat. *prodere*. Haugg,⁸ after Feigel and Bertram, remarks that *παράδιδωμι*, in connection with the story of the Passion, is a technical term used to express the delivery of Jesus into the hands of His enemies unto death, the term taking its origin from the passage in Is. 53:12 (LXX), *καὶ διὰ ἀνομίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη*. The Evangelists firmly establish the fact that the monstrous deed of betrayal was carried out by no one else than Judas Iscariot, and this act is always described with *παράδιδωμι*.⁹ In the early Christian preaching and tradition, Judas constantly received the sobriquet of *ὁ παραδιδούς* or *ὁ παραδούς*.¹⁰

In Lk. 6:16 *ἐγένετο*, distinguished from *ἦν*, implies a change of state or condition, for Judas had no treacherous intentions when he joined the select circle of disciples. Judas, therefore, was not *the traitor* from the very beginning, but rather *became* or *turned*

⁴ Plummer, A., *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (International Critical Commentary), on Lk. 6:16, p. 175.

⁵ Bauer, W., *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des neuen Testaments*, pp. 980-82, s.v. *παράδιδωμι*.

⁶ Haugg, D., *Judas Iskarioth in den neutestamentlichen Berichten*, p. 63.

⁷ Liddell, H. G., and Scott, R., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, a New Edition, Vol. 2, p. 1308, s.v. *παράδιδωμι*.

⁸ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁰ Koch, W., "Die neutestamentliche Abendmahlberichte," in *ThQ*, Vol. 87 (1905), p. 239.

traitor.¹¹ In this sense, ἐγένετο is generally used of persons or things which take on a new character or form.¹²

A. Wright¹³ believes that, before the Crucifixion, Judas had been primate among the disciples of Jesus because he held the purse, the symbol of authority. St. Peter, in the meantime, occupied the last place, but slowly was gaining ground to reach that coveted position. As proof, he offers both moral and linguistic arguments. In the dispute over precedence, Peter is said to have emerged victorious "by force of character and spiritual apprehension."¹⁴ Furthermore, our Lord's statement "Even so the last shall be first, and the first last" (Mt. 20:16) found its fulfillment in Judas and Peter. Peter's confession (Mt. 16:16) had firmly established him in the honor Christ had conferred upon him, when He invited Peter to witness the raising from the dead of the daughter of Jairus (Mk. 5:37; Lk. 8:51); again, when Peter accompanied Jesus at the Transfiguration (Mt. 17:1; Mk. 9:1; Lk. 9:28); and afterwards at Gethsemani (Mt. 26:37; Mk. 14:33). Then, too, it was our Lord's teaching that both the wheat and weeds grow together till the harvest (Mt. 13:30). Finally, Matthias took the place "from which Judas fell away" (Acts 1:25). Besides these moral arguments, his most cogent proof for the primacy of Judas is based on the expression found in Mk. 14:10, where the false disciple is called ὁ εἰς τῶν δώδεκα, "which seems evidently to mean 'the first' or 'chief' of the Twelve, ὁ εἰς being Hellenistic Greek for ὁ πρῶτος."¹⁵ The following year A. T. Robertson,¹⁶ in a reply to Wright's suggested theory on the

¹¹ Plummer, A., *op. cit.*, on Lk. 6:16, p. 175.

¹² For example, Mt. 4:3, "command that these stones *become* loaves of bread;" Mt. 5:45, "so that you *may be* children of your Father; Mt. 13:32, "but when it (mustard seed) grows up it is larger than any herb and *becomes* a tree;" Mk. 1:17, "I will *make* you fishers of men;" Lk. 23:12, "And Herod and Pilate *became* friends that very day;" Jn. 1:14, "And the Word *was made* flesh;" Jn. 2:9, "the water after it *had become* wine;" Acts 26:28, "In a short while thou wouldst persuade me to *become* a Christian."

¹³ Wright, A., "Was Judas Iscariot 'The First of the Twelve?'" in *JThSt*, Vol. 18 (1916), pp. 32-34.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁶ Robertson, A. T., "The Primacy of Judas," in *Exp*, eighth series, Vol. 13 (1917), pp. 278-86.

primacy of Judas, pointed out that there is a question as to whether the article δ is in the correct text. "The Greek idiom (δ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) allows either 'the first' or 'the notorious one' of the Twelve. The facts in the Gospels do not give a clear decision."¹⁷ In addition to Robertson's arguments, J. Rendel Harris¹⁸ equally opposes such an interpretation of Mk. 14:10, although Eastern tradition believed that Judas at first stood higher up in the Apostolic list, perhaps third or sixth.

Granted that the use of cardinals as ordinals finds support in the O.T. and N.T., yet such use never has reference to persons. It is mostly used of the first day of the week.¹⁹ In view of Mk. 14:20 and 43, where $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\delta\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ occurs without the article, δ of 14:10 is equivalent either to an indefinite article comparable to $\tau\iota\varsigma$,²⁰ or a relative pronoun, meaning "who was one of the Twelve," in contrast to the remaining body of the Apostles. Kleist observes in connection with Mk. 14:10 that "what should have been a name of privilege and distinction, became a name of reproach. Its use (i.e. 'one of the Twelve') is one of the ways of emphasizing the heinousness of Judas' deed."²¹ There are no indications, direct or indirect, in the N.T. showing the preëminence of any one Apostle over the others except in the case of Peter. The primacy of jurisdiction was promised (Mt. 16:17-19) and conferred (Jn. 21:15-17) upon Peter immediately and directly without any one prior to him having had that distinction.²² That the office of treasurer implied the exercise of primatial authority cannot be proven on Evangelical accounts. Christ's teaching on poverty and humility forbids this. When a certain Scribe begged for admittance into the discipleship of Jesus, the Master replied, "The foxes have dens, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head" (Mt. 8:20). With such a program of poverty, what power or authority could Judas possi-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

¹⁸ Harris, J. R., "The Suggested Primacy of Judas Iscariot," in *Exp.*, eighth series, Vol. 14 (1917), pp. 1-16.

¹⁹ Thus, for example, Gen. 1:5; Ex. 40:2; Num. 1:1 (LXX); Mt. 28:1; Mk. 16:2; Lk. 24:1; Acts 20:7; 1 Cor. 16:2.

²⁰ Blass, F., *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, p. 144.

²¹ Kleist, J. A., S.J., *The Memoirs of Peter*, p. 172.

²² *D. B.*, nos. 1822, 1823, 2055, 2145.

bly wield within a group, whom Christ charged not to have anything beyond what was necessary for present use?²³

A. WHY JUDAS WAS CHOSEN BY CHRIST

Since Judas was chosen from a number of Christ's disciples (Mt. 10:1), he was already, like the rest of his fellow companions, a voluntary adherent of Jesus (comp. Jn. 1:37). If we search for reasons why Judas became of his own free will a disciple, the N.T. records give us no definite answer. From the analogy of fact²⁴ it may be deduced as very probable that it was not the money-motive that animated Judas to follow the Messiah. The Apostles led a life that offered them no pecuniary remuneration, because they had left all to follow Christ (Mt. 19:27). Haugg²⁵ has suggested that it would be more reasonable to assume that Judas, well aware of the Messianic movement which was thought to be realized at this period,²⁶ sought adherence to the Wonder Worker out of ambition, in order to place himself in power, respect and honor among his friends. We know that Peter, Andrew, John, Philip and Nathanael certainly joined the Savior as disciples, because they saw in Him the promised Messiah (Jn. 1:41,46). It may be equally said of Judas that he had acted on similar Messianic desires. The spiritual character of the Kingdom of God, however, was not fully understood by the Apostles at the very beginning of their discipleship, for they expected an earthly, political and national kingdom. We notice this especially in Mk. 8:32-33; 9:31; 10:32ff, where the Apostles with difficulty accepted the doctrine of the suffering and dying Messiah. Judas, according to Haugg, was moved by a strong nationalistic conception of the Kingdom of God, wherein he expected external prosperity, financial success and an opportunity to better himself socially and politically.

²³ Mt. 10:9-10. So Maldonatus, J., S.J., *Commentarius in Quatuor Evangelistas*, Vol. 1, p. 304; Lagrange, M. J., O. P., *Évangile selon S. Marc*, p. 151; Crampon, A., *La Sainte Bible*, Vol. 6, p. 143.

²⁴ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 79.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

²⁶ There is clear evidence from the N.T. and contemporary extra-biblical literature that the Jewish people awaited the appearance of the Messiah at this period. The question of St. John the Baptist, "Art thou he who is to

From the circle of disciples Christ selected Judas in Galilee. There can be no question concerning the complete freedom of action on the part of Jesus, for He called men of His own choosing (Mk. 3:13). In consequence of the Marcan assurance, Judas could not have thrust himself into the Apostolate.²⁷

The question of whether Judas was good or bad, when he was chosen, naturally suggests itself here. St. Cyril of Alexandria²⁸ states that the man was good at the time of his call. Christ as

come, or shall we look for another?" (Mt. 11:3; Lk. 7:19) shows that the Redeemer was then expected. In Jn. 4:25 the Samaritan woman confesses to Jesus, "I know that Messiah is coming (who is called Christ), and when he comes he will tell us all things." At His entry into Jerusalem, the whole multitude hailed Jesus as the Messiah (Mk. 11:10). Cleophas expressed the hope of all the people when he said this of Christ: "But we were hoping that it was he who should redeem Israel" (Lk. 24:21). The Apostles came to Him and asked, "Lord wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts 1:16). The whole section of the *Sibylline Oracles*, 3:652-795 (In Charles, R. H., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Vol. 2, pp. 390-392) is of almost exclusively Messianic purport. The longing for the New Jerusalem is especially ardent in the *Book of Enoch*, 90:28-38 (in Charles, R. H., *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 259-60), where the transcendent character of the Messiah comes forward. The Messiah is depicted in sharper outlines in the *Psalms of Solomon*, 17:47-51 (in Charles, R. H., *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 651), for happy are they who are born in his days. Josephus in his *Jewish War*, VI, v, 4, ed. Loeb, nos. 312-13, p. 467 reflects the popular consciousness of the expected Messiah when he writes: "But what more than all else incited them to the war was an ambiguous oracle, likewise found in their sacred scriptures, to the effect that at that time one from their country would become ruler of the world. This they understood to mean someone of their own race, and many of their wise men went astray in their interpretation of it. Messianic notions were also known to Tacitus (*Histories* V, 13, ed. Loeb, p. 198): "pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum litteris contineri eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens profectique Judaea rerum potirentur. Quae ambages Vespasianum ac Titum praedixerat, sed vulgus more humanae cupidinis sibi tantam factorum magnitudinem interpretati ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur." Compare also the testimony of Suetonius (*Vespasian* 4, ed. Loeb, p. 288): "Percrebuerat oriente toto vetus et constans opinio esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judaea profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore Romano, quantum postea eventu paruit, praedictum Judae ad se trahentes rebellarunt."

²⁷ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 80.

²⁸ S. Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *In Joannis Evangelium*, IV, 4, MPG, 73, 632, on Jn. 6:71.

God knew the secrets of Judas' mind. He did not deprive him of the exercise of his free will, leaving Judas to choose between vice and virtue. Through the selection of Judas, Christ wished to signify that we are to practice vigilance and to guard ourselves against spiritual danger. St. Jerome²⁹ is of the same opinion, but gives additional reasons. God judges the present, not the future, in that He does not make use of His foreknowledge to condemn a man, though He knows that the subject will hereafter displease Him. Such is God's goodness and clemency, for He chose Judas who, He perceived, would in the meantime be good, but who, at the same time, He foreknew, would turn out wickedly. At any rate, He extended to him the opportunity for conversion and repentance. St. Jerome thus understands Rom. 2:4-6. St. Augustine does not touch upon the dispositions of heart of Judas at the time of his election. He may have been good or bad at the beginning. But the fact remains, that he turned out to be wicked. The point at issue with St. Augustine is the deep mystery of God's prescience. Why did Christ elect Judas when He was perfectly aware of his future fall? The solution of this question, he says, belongs peculiarly to God. Judas was chosen to be among the elect and to be among the elect is a special honor bestowed upon him. But Judas abused the goodness of Christ by falling into sin. For inasmuch as he made bad use of the good works of God, so God made good use of his evil works. This evil work is imputable to Judas alone, for the Savior turned the traitor's wickedness to an occasion of good. The good resulting therefrom was the great mystery of Redemption, for He endured to be betrayed in order to redeem us.³⁰

Together with the rest of the Apostles, Judas received "power over unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to cure every kind of disease and infirmity" (Mt. 10:1; also Mk. 13:15). On their return from the mission the Apostles reported to Christ all that they had done (Lk. 9:1-6,10). The future traitor, in the opinion of St. Augustine,³¹ baptized validly in the Holy Spirit. He like-

²⁹ S. Hieronymus, *Dialogus contra Pelagianos*, III, 6, MPL 23, 575.

³⁰ S. Augustinus, *In Joannis Evangelium*, tract. 27, 10, MPL 35, 1619-20.

³¹ S. Augustinus, *In Joannis Evangelium*, tract. 6, 7, 8, MPL 35, 1428-29.

wise possessed the power to perform miracles,³² but these spiritual privileges did not make him the better.³³ It was Providence above all that ruled the call of Judas,³⁴ for God deigned to employ an unworthy minister in order to manifest to the world that divine ministerial grace operating through wicked agencies remains unimpaired.³⁵

Christ looked with loving foreknowledge into Judas' heart, as He looked into Nathanael's. In one case, He saw "a true Israelite in whom there is no guile" (Jn. 1:47). In the other, He saw a traitor whom he hoped to save. Toward this end, He surrounded him with good influences, gave him a place among the Twelve, touched him with His grace, truth and love. He was under no necessity, but rather free to turn traitor or to remain a faithful disciple. Judas made his own choice by selling His Master; for even divine prescience cannot restrict free choice. Christ estimated the merits of Judas when he was chosen. In the beginning, Judas must have shown some sincerity toward Jesus,³⁶ for, otherwise, Christ would have rejected him and the Apostles would not have entrusted him with the safe-keeping of the common treasury.³⁷

It is evident that Christ had weighty reasons for admitting him to the Apostolic College. The man was not bad by nature, but degenerated through his own free will.³⁸ We wonder and are perplexed at times when we consider how Jesus, Who knew what lay deep in Judas' heart, could have conferred upon him the Apostolate. But yet God acted thus toward the angels whose fall He foresaw; and so too toward some men who, He foresees, will fail to attain their last end. The betrayal of Judas, too, was fore-

³² S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *De Proditione Judae*, hom. I, MPG 49, 377.

³³ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Inscriptionem Actorum*, II, 3, MPG 51, 81-82.

³⁴ S. Ambrosius, *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, V, 45, MPL 15, 1648.

³⁵ Breen, A. E., *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 68-69.

³⁶ Le Camus, Mgr., *La Vie de N.-S. Jésus-Christ*, Vol. 1, pp. 469-70.

³⁷ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 81.

³⁸ Didymus Alexandrinus, *Contra Manichaeos*, in *Thesaurus Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum et Historicorum, sive Henrici Canisii Lectiones Antiquae*, Vol. 1, pp. 199, 207.

seen, for it is intimately bound up with the divine plan of Redemption. It was foretold (Ps. 40:10) that some one was to betray Him in order that God's plans might be fulfilled. "I know whom I have chosen" (Jn. 13:18a), said Christ to His Apostles on the occasion of the washing of their feet. He also gives the reason: "but that the Scripture may be fulfilled, 'He who eats bread with me has lifted up his heel against me'" (Jn. 13:18b). Notwithstanding his apparent sincerity at the beginning and Christ's foreknowledge of the betrayal, Jesus elected Judas so that the Scriptures might be fulfilled.³⁹ The advantages Jesus intended to draw from the foreseen treason of Judas are summarized by Maas:⁴⁰

1. It brought about the death of the Redeemer;
2. it showed the firmness of Christ's doctrine, which prevailed in spite of the prejudice it suffered through Judas' fall;⁴¹
3. it showed the infinite charity of Jesus who gave the most abundant means of salvation even to his future traitor;
4. it brought about that Jesus who had taken the infirmities of our nature upon himself had to suffer those that are the most painful and humiliating, dereliction and treason;
5. it was the occasion of a most admirable example of patience for all men that were to come after Jesus;
6. such an example of patience was absolutely needed by us since we had to live among the wicked;⁴²
7. the fall of Judas showed that the dignity of state does not sanctify a man, and that there is a bad member in almost every large society of men;
8. the fall of Judas shows that no one, however good he may be, can be secure of his perseverance, and that men may resist even the most powerful graces;

³⁹ Rupertus Tuitiensis, *In IV Evangelistas*, cap. 23, MPL 167, 1559-60.

⁴⁰ Maas, A. J., S. J., *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew*, p. 118.

⁴¹ Cfr. S. Ambrosius, *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, V, 45, MPL 15, 1648.

⁴² Cfr. S. Augustinus, *Enarratio in Psalmum XXXIV*, 7, 8, MPL 36, 338; *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 49, MPL 41, 611-12.

9. finally, the history of the traitor shows that God may choose a man for the highest office and dignity, though he foreknows that the subject chosen will prove himself wholly unworthy.

B. CHARACTER OF JUDAS⁴³

Concerning the character of Judas Iscariot, indications in the Synoptic Gospels are extremely meagre. In the accounts of Mark and Luke, no characteristic notes are given. These two Evangelists do not show that he was a covetous man, for money is not said to have played any special rôle with Judas. When he discussed with the chief priests and captains how he might deliver Jesus to them, the would-be traitor did not demand money; it was promised him by them (Mk. 14:1-2; 14:10-11; Lk. 22:1-6). On the other hand, the same Evangelists portray the cold and resolute state of Judas' mind. After having agreed to reveal the whereabouts of Jesus, Judas conceived a plan whereby he might bring about the betrayal of Jesus (Mk. 14:11) *without a tumult* (Lk. 22:6). Later, he is reported as taking great precautions in leading Jesus away *safely* (Mk. 14:44). Finally, the false disciple did not hesitate to kiss the Master (Mk. 14:45; Lk. 22:47).

Matthew brings out the avaricious character of Judas in sharper outlines. Money is a condition of the betrayal: "What are you willing to give me, and I will deliver him to you?" (Mt. 26:15).

St. John, known for his sharp characterizations, depicts more vividly the principal features of the traitor's internal disposition. Accordingly, Judas is said to have been motivated by a great love of money. At the anointing at Bethany, Judas laments the extravagant expenditure and offers a hypocritical proposal to have the money distributed among the poor (Jn. 12:4-5). In this connection, John characteristically calls him a thief, for he was wont to appropriate to his own uses coins out of the common treasury (Jn. 12:6).

Besides being avaricious, he was—what is still worse—hypocritical and dissimulating. St. James pointedly characterizes such an individual as "double-minded" (James 1:8), i.e., a man with two minds, both real; but the wrong mind is strongest and ulti-

⁴³ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

mately prevails.⁴⁴ Although Judas did not believe in Jesus' teaching on the Eucharist (Jn. 6:65), he nonetheless continued to walk with the Savior when other disciples, perhaps even more worthy, openly abandoned Him. In the same hypocritical manner, Judas deported himself in the Cenacle, feigning friendship to the end. He knew well how to play that rôle, for even the Apostles, whose attention had been called by Christ Himself to the presence of a traitor in their midst, did not suspect that Judas was the man (Jn. 13:26-29).

We may assume that Judas had some good qualities which recommended him for admission to the Apostolic Body.⁴⁵ Among these were practical ability, financial skill and energy. It appears that he was the man fitted best to discharge the office of treasurer. It was no small matter to provide for the food, lodging and other needs of such a group of men, moving so constantly from place to place. There was need of forethought, preparation, business method, which the Master probably did not ignore. Whether Jesus or the Apostles made him custodian of the coins, the Gospels do not state. This could hardly have been any special distinction conferred upon Judas, since that office was relatively unimportant. The main energy of the Apostles was to be devoted to the spreading of the Gospel.

We learn from Jn. 12:6 that Judas had charge of the coffer box.⁴⁶ Necessity prompted the creation of this office. We find evidence of a common treasury from which money was expended for the daily needs of the Apostles and the poor. When Judas went out into the night from the Upper Room, "some thought that because Judas held the purse, Jesus said to him, 'Buy the things we need for the feast;' or that he should give something to the poor" (Jn. 13:29). Such directions to the treasurer were evidently familiar to the disciples' ears. We also read of certain women, healed by Jesus, who followed Him and in gratitude provided for Him and the Apostles "out of their means" (Lk. 8:1-3). The donations on the part of these grateful follow-

⁴⁴ A Lapide, Cornelius, *Commentaria in Epistolam S. Jacobi* (Commentaria in Scripturam Sacram), on James 1:8, Vol. 20, p. 44.

⁴⁵ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

⁴⁶ Bauer, W., *op. cit.*, pp. 254-55, s.v. *γλωσσόκομον*.

ers brought about the necessity of appointing one of the Apostles to the stewardship. Doubtless, there were many others who were happy to support His cause with their contributions. What was superfluous was distributed among the poor and needy (Jn. 13:29). At times, the state of finances must have been high, as when for example the disciples were willing to buy 200 denarii worth of bread to feed the multitude (Mk. 6:37). There is clear evidence of a common fund of which Judas was the treasurer. He was probably a man of marked financial ability, in recognition of which he was given this position.

CHAPTER V

DEVELOPMENT OF JUDAS INTO A BETRAYER

A. THE TEST OF FAITH AT CAPHARNAUM

JESUS unveils the unbelief of Judas on the occasion of His discourse of promise on the true Heavenly Bread at Capharnaum (Jn. 6:22-59). "‘But there are some among you who do not believe.’ For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were who did not believe, and who it was who should betray him" (Jn. 6:65). The internal hypocritical character of Judas found here its real test. Having delivered the doctrine of the Eucharist, many disciples of Jesus found it a hard saying (Jn. 6:61) and prepared to depart from Him (Jn. 6:67). Jesus, then, posits the all-important question which was to test the Apostles’ faith, saying "Will you also go away?" (Jn. 6:68). The absolute fidelity of the Apostolic College to Christ is declared by Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, who pleads, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast words of everlasting life, and we have come to believe and to know that thou art the Christ, the Son of God." In spite of Peter’s all-inclusive confession, Christ still doubts the truth of his protestation, "Have I not chosen you, the Twelve? Yet one of you is a devil" (Jn. 6:71). There was found in their midst one who was false. The purely explanatory remark of John,¹ "Now he was speaking of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon; for he it was, though one of the Twelve, who was to betray him," does not reveal a jealous tendency on the part of the Evangelist to make Judas appear in a bad light.² It was not St. John but Jesus Himself who calls him a devil. Because of the knowledge St. John gained later as well as his unique privilege of being permitted to penetrate into the mysteries of God (comp.

¹ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

² Renan, E., *Vie de Jésus*, pp. 380-82.

Jn. 13:26), this beloved Apostle could not have resorted to spiteful fabrications.³

The discourse at Capharnaum was the first occasion on which Christ hinted that there was among them a false Apostle, destined to be a traitor and deserving to be stigmatized as a devil. In calling Judas a devil, Christ meant that he acted in the spirit of a devil, who is totally false and hypocritical.⁴ For, inasmuch as Jesus does not say that Judas will become a devil but that he actually is one, it may be concluded that during the crisis at Capharnaum the future traitor was bad and was declared as such openly by Christ Himself, even though the rest of the Apostles did not comprehend immediately the full meaning of Jesus' words.⁵

In spite of his unbelief how did Judas manage to pass through this test of faith without forsaking his Master, as did the other disciples, who rejected the doctrine on the Eucharist? This question can be answered only by paying due regard to the purpose with which Judas entered the Apostolate. He did not believe in Jesus as the true Messiah in the spiritual sense.⁶ The confession of Peter is an express declaration of faith in the Divinity of Christ (Jn. 6:69 ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ; Vulgate, "Christus Filius Dei"),⁷ which faith Judas rejects internally according to the meaning of Jn. 6:70. If Judas did not acknowledge internally the Divinity of the Messiah, why did he not abandon his Master then and there? Why did he not protest and show his displeasure outwardly as did the rest (Jn. 12:5)? Judas knew well that these words, "But there are some among you who do not believe" (Jn. 6:65) and "yet one of you is a devil" (Jn. 6:71), were directed against him. If the future betrayer of our Lord, upon seeing the open withdrawal of many of the disciples were to have acted honestly, he too should have cast his lot with them. According to our human way of thinking, the most illogical step was

³ So J. Sickenberger, *Leben Jesu nach den vier Evangelien in Biblische Zeitfragen*, X Folge, 4-6, p. 90.

⁴ MacRory, J., *The Gospel of St. John*, on Jn. 6:71, p. 122.

⁵ Breen, A. E., *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 623.

⁶ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁷ Cfr. MacRory, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

taken. Why did he continue to walk with Christ, when he knew that he did not believe in this Heavenly Bread? Haugg⁸ is of the opinion that at this point of his Apostolate Judas still entertained hopes of a high and important position in a secular kingdom which Jesus supposedly came to inaugurate. Otherwise, he would have passed into oblivion along with the rest who refused to follow Christ. Thereupon, Judas began to consider the folly of such a step. If he had resolved to withdraw now, he would have probably repented later of having abandoned the Messias at this critical hour.

With the Jews it was an abomination to eat human flesh (Gen. 9:4; Deut. 12:16,23), and the obligation of eating the flesh of the Messias was considered a scandal (Jn. 6:62). They failed to understand the connection existing between the promised Eucharistic food and eternal life, how eating that flesh could confer any benefit (Jn. 6:53). For that reason they refused to follow Christ.⁹ Though this explanation is correct, yet it does not embrace all the causes attending the refusal of the Jews to believe in the Eucharist. It is not to be assumed with T. Zahn¹⁰ that the multitude was scandalized at the "scandalum crucis" (1 Cor. 1:23; Gal. 5:11), for the Passion and Death of the Lord are not mentioned in the entire discourse except in a vague way (Jn. 6:51). The context makes it clear that the Jews were now beginning to see in Jesus the long-awaited Messias. The Jewish Messianic conception, which depicted Him as a powerful liberator Who should free them from political bondage, cannot be overlooked in the immediate context.¹¹ At first, they saw in Jesus a Messias according to their national desires because of the signs He had wrought (Jn. 6:14). Wherefore, the people became highly enthusiastic about the "Prophet who is to come into the world" (Jn. 6:14). In fact, they wanted to make Him king (Jn. 6:15), and on the very next day eagerly sought Him out in order to confer upon Him this honor (Jn. 6:22-25). However, when they

⁸ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁹ S. Augustinus, *In Joannis Evangelium, tract. XXVI*, 1, 2, MPL 35, 1616.

¹⁰ Zahn, T., *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (Kommentar zum neuen Testament), on Jn. 6:62, Vol. 4, p. 358.

¹¹ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 84.

heard the unexpected doctrine of Christ, this popular enthusiasm was converted into disgust. "I am the living bread that has come down from heaven. If anyone eat of this bread he shall live forever; and the bread that I will give is my flesh for the life of the world" (Jn. 6:52). And again: "For my flesh is food indeed, and my blood is drink indeed" (Jn. 6:56). Such direct statements of Christ served only to alienate them. On this account, they began to murmur and argue, and found the discourse hard and repulsive (Jn. 6:53,61). The sermon on the Bread of Life, therefore, produced decisive effects, for it definitely destroyed all their hopes in Jesus as the Messias.¹²

Judas Iscariot failed to realize the fact that Christ came to establish a spiritual Kingdom. On different occasions, the Master dedicated Himself exclusively to the training of the Twelve, taking them apart, revealing to them the mysteries and the divine character of this Kingdom and preparing them for His Passion and Death. If Judas were truly single-minded, he would have new reasons for withdrawal at this point of his career.

The false disciple recognized the fact that he had internally severed relations with the Master. This internal break grew into a gross manifestation of hypocrisy. Internally, he was against Jesus; outwardly, he did not want to separate himself from the preferred circle, into which he had come as an Apostle. Haugg¹³ suggests that at this point Judas certainly held the office of treasurer (Lk. 8:3). This office held a special appeal to him and probably was his sole incentive for his continued adherence to the Apostolic College.

It was eternally present in the Mind of God that by the retention of one unworthy Apostle the plan of Redemption should be accomplished. As Jesus had once remarked in a similitude that both tares and wheat should grow together until harvest (Mt. 13:30), so for this reason Christ did not dismiss but rather tolerated him—His foreknowledge that Judas was a devil notwithstanding. It was not the will of Jesus but the heavenly counsel of His Father that was the deciding factor in retaining Judas

¹² Weiss, B., *A Commentary on the New Testament*, on Jn. 6:58ff, Vol. 2, pp. 284-87.

¹³ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 86.

within the circle of the chosen group (comp. Jn. 17:12; 4:34; 5:19; 6:37). St. John Chrysostom¹⁴ marvels at the wisdom of Christ Who did not expose Judas publicly, lest he should become more impudent; but at the same time Christ did not leave him uncensured, lest the future traitor should have reason to think that he was ignored by the Savior.

B. BETHANY

A year of hypocrisy passes and we see the maturing of the Apostle into a thief and a traitor. Utterly disappointed in the non-political and unworldly character of Christ the Messiah, Judas still persists in remaining with the chosen group with feigned loyalty. Would not his loss of faith develop into bitterness and hatred through constant uncongenial associations with those for whom he felt no genuine sympathy? Would not his realization, that he must now abandon all hope of political advancement in the falsely imagined Messianic Kingdom, cast a disappointing spell upon his hypocritical soul? These questions cannot be answered unless we take into consideration the events of Holy Week. Indeed, he steadily degenerated, but the events that transpired during the last week before the Passion show how the external causes affected the internal motive for Judas' act of treason.

According to St. John (12:1), Jesus and His Apostles arrived in Bethany "six days before the Passover"¹⁵ where a supper was

¹⁴ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Joannem*, hom. XLVII (al. XLVI), MPG 59, 267.

¹⁵ Notwithstanding its apparent clearness the Johannine chronological reckoning of "six days before the Passover" offers a real difficulty. It is not clear whether St. John includes in his calculation the day of arrival in Bethany or the first day of the Passover. Belser (*History of the Passion*, pp. 27-28), citing Van Bebbber, shows that the sense of Jn. 12:1 is τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα, "on the sixth day before the Passover." The terminus ad quem is here omitted. Hence, τὸ πάσχα does not denote a single day, i.e. the 14th of Nisan, but the entire festal season of eight days. Since the slaughtering of the lambs began in the afternoon of the 14th of Nisan, counting six days back, Christ should have arrived in Bethany on the eighth. Now, the Passover in that year occurred on a Friday and six days prior to that would be a Sabbath. As traveling was expressly forbidden on a Sabbath, the Savior probably reached Bethany in the afternoon of the

given in His honor (Jn. 12:2) in the house of Simon the leper (Mt. 26:6; Mk. 14:3).¹⁶ The Master was coming from Jericho to Jerusalem. To pass by with His Apostles without stopping at Bethany would have certainly grieved His friends. Resolved to accept the cordial hospitality of the saintly family of Lazarus, He took up His abode with them. Among the principal guests was Lazarus whom Jesus had raised to life (Jn. 12:1), while Martha served at table. During the course of the banquet, Mary, sister of Lazarus, came with an alabaster vase of precious ointment, broke the fragile neck thereof and poured the contents partly on His feet (Jn. 12:3) and partly on His head (Mt. 26:7; Mk.

preceding day. From Friday (14th of Nisan) to this Sabbath (8th of Nisan) is exactly six days. The supper and the anointing, therefore, took place on a Sabbath; the arrival in Bethany on Friday. See also Fillion, L. C., S.S., *The Life of Christ*, Vol. 3, p. 222.

¹⁶ The Johannine account of the supper and the anointing of Mary refers to the same incident described by Matthew (26:6-13) and Mark (14:3-9). The narrative of Luke (7:36-50) is markedly different from the anointing in Bethany. Belser (*op. cit.*, p. 30, note 2) is of the opinion that these two anointings are separate and distinct. In the Lucan account the incident probably took place in Galilee in the house of Simon the Pharisee during the first year of the Lord's ministry; while that which is here under consideration occurred in Bethany in Judea in the house of Simon the leper, six days before the Passover. The character of these two anointings is likewise different. The principal point in Lk. 7:36ff is the mercy of God shown toward the unnamed penitent woman; while in the incident at Bethany it is an act of charity performed by Mary toward Jesus. Holzmeister ("S. Maria Magdalena estne una eademque cum peccatrice et sorore Lazari?" in *V.D.* Vol. 16 (1936), pp. 193-99) distinguishes the unnamed penitent woman described in Lk. 7:36ff from both Mary Magdalene and Mary, sister of Lazarus. He further includes in his discussion of the problem a brief sketch of the history of the opinion on the "Mary" question. Ever since the time of Pope Gregory the Great (*XL Homiliarum in Evangelia*, lib. II, hom. 33, MPL 76, 1239) the Mary of Bethany is identified with Mary Magdalene, who is thought to be the penitent woman mentioned by Luke. The Breviary Office for July 22 also identifies the "peccatrix" with Mary Magdalene and Mary, sister of Lazarus. Bernard (*Commentary on St. John* (International Critical Commentary) Vol. 2, pp. 409-14) accepts this latter identification. For a complete study on the identity of Mary Magdalene, see Ketter, P., *The Magdalene Question*, translated by Rev. Hugo C. Koehler. Regarding the anointings, cfr. also Sybel, L., "Die Salbunge," in *ZNW*, Vol. 23 (1924), pp. 184-93.

14:3).¹⁷ She then dried His feet with her hair (Jn. 12:3). This act of loving devotion should have evoked words of praise from the Apostles. Yet, it was severely criticized by Judas¹⁸ who became indignant at the extravagant waste, "Why was this ointment not sold for three hundred denarii and given to the poor?" Judas at once recognized the fact that a large sum of money was paid for this single pound of ointment,¹⁹ as we may infer from the remark inserted by John who unveils the avaricious character of the traitor-to-be.²⁰ "Now he said this, not that he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief, and holding the purse, used to take what was put in it." (Jn. 12:6). The reply of Jesus, primarily intended for the protection of Mary, actually turns into a rebuke

¹⁷ In the same account of the anointing at Bethany, Matthew (26:7) and Mark (14:3) report that Mary anointed the head of Jesus, whereas John (12:3) relates that she anointed only His feet. How are we to regard this apparent discrepancy? St. Augustine (*De consensu Evangelistarum*, II, 79, 154, MPL 34, 1155) states that both accounts are correct. The fact that she broke the alabaster jar implies that Mary used up the entire contents of the precious ointment, first by anointing the feet of Christ then His head. Note the statement of Mk. 14:8, "She has anointed my *body* in preparation for burial." John presumes the Matthaean and Marcan account on the anointing which was incomplete, and supplements it by additional details.

¹⁸ St. Matthew (26:8) mentions that the "disciples," Mark (14:4) "some," and John (12:4) "Judas" expressed the disapproval. The difference concerning the persons who took part in the criticism is again harmonized by St. Augustine (*De consensu Evangelistarum*, II, 79, 156, MPL 34, 1155-56). Each Evangelist is said to emphasize a different point of view. At the instigation of Judas, the rest of the Apostles found fault with the loving act of Mary. St. John, therefore, seized here the opportunity to describe Judas as a thief, whereas Matthew and Mark wished to point out the Apostles' concern for the poor as the real motive for their critical statements. By giving more exact details, John shows that Judas alone took the entire responsibility for the general displeasure.

¹⁹ Pliny in his *Natural History*, XIII, 2 (ed. Bostock and Riley, Vol. 3, p. 165) informs us that 300 denarii used to be paid for one pound of precious ointment. Note also the interesting details supplied by Mark (6:37), where 200 denarii would buy enough bread to furnish a meal for 5000 men (Mk. 6:44), "without counting women and children" (Mt. 14:21). A denarius was a considerable sum of money, the wage of a laborer for one day (Mt. 20:2). Now, 300 denarii was equal to the sum earned by a laborer for a whole year.

²⁰ MacRory, J., *The Gospel of St. John*, on Jn. 12:6, p. 199.

against Judas, "Let her be—that she may keep it for the day of my burial" (Jn. 12:7). Ἀφες (singular in the Greek; plural in the Vulgate, "sinite") shows that Judas took the initiative in registering displeasure, and that he alone took the entire responsibility of the general disapproval (Mt. 26:8 μαθηταί; Mk. 14:4 τινες). The words of Jesus are next directed to all those present, "For the poor you have (ἔχετε) always with you, but you do not always have (ἔχετε) me" (Jn. 12:8).²¹ By taking Mary under His protection,²² Christ intended to emphasize the prophetic and symbolical character of the act, since it prefigured the anointing of His body for the coming burial.²³ Because of his unbelief and inordinate desire for money, Judas ignored the sublime mystery of the anointing.²⁴

We can readily understand Judas' exasperation as he saw "a pound of ointment, genuine nard of great value" (Jn. 12:3) poured out upon the feet and head of Jesus. The time when he could be touched by such an act of supreme love and devotion

²¹ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 91.

²² Some Liberals represented chiefly by Georg Bertram (*Die Leidensgeschichte Jesu und der Christuskult*, pp. 16–18) doubt the historical character of the Johannine account of the anointing in Bethany. Thus, they say, it is merely a cult-tale, a story about the personal worship which Christ wished to gain for Himself, "For the poor you have always with you, but you do not always have me" (Jn. 12:8). Haugg (*op. cit.*, p. 91) rightly thinks that it is pure arbitrariness to presume cult tendencies in John. By a more thorough and mature reflection of these facts, St. John, who wrote his Gospel much later than the Synoptists, was in a better position to supply additional details lacking in the first three evangelical reports. It, thus, strengthens the historicity of the fourth Gospel, in that it shows that John was not only dependent on earlier sources for his material, but also through frequent repetition of his sermons he was less apt to forget the exact details of the events. Moreover, the standpoint of John was dogmatic, to prove the Divinity of Christ. In the account of the anointing at Bethany he intended to bring out the mystical and prophetic significance of the act. It prefigured the anointing for His burial, which was to transpire a week hence. St. Cyril of Alexandria (*Commentarium in Joannem*, lib. VII, et VIII Fragmenta, 12, 6, MPG 74, 75) settles the problem, saying "Permagni interest, inquit (Servator), amare pauperes, sed tamen reverentia Dei anteposatur."

²³ S. Thomas, *Expositio in Sanctum Iesu Christi Evangelium secundum Joannem*, cap. XII, lect. 2, p. 212.

²⁴ S. Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Commentarium in Joannem*, lib. VII et VIII Fragmenta, 12, 6, MPG 74, 75.

had long passed. He saw in it nothing but waste, and estimated at once the value of the ointment. Judas calculated that it might have been sold for three hundred denarii, and that the money, thus obtained, might have been contributed to the treasury. If this had been done, a large part of the sum doubtless would have been diverted to his own purposes. With his avarice and dishonesty appears also his miserable hypocrisy. It is not enough for him to be a dissatisfied critic; he also poses as a philanthropist. How much of this money would have reached the poor, once it had come into the hands of this hypocritical thief? For a year, Judas had been feigning devotion to the Messiah in Whom he had lost faith; now it is easy for him to feign anxiety for the poor whom he would rob.²⁵

Did St. John invent the motive of avarice in order to place his fellow Apostle in an unfavorable light? Strauss²⁶ and Gould²⁷ see in the supplementary remark regarding the peculating habits of Judas, which are not found in the parallel accounts of Matthew and Mark, an intentional attempt on the part of St. John to belittle the betrayer. Keim²⁸ is also of the same opinion, for no Evangelist could have forgotten to mention this characteristic trait of Judas, since he, especially, had grieved Jesus and the saintly Mary in these last moments before the Passion. To point out the falseness of such reasoning, it will suffice to recall briefly the credibility of John's Gospel. As an eye-witness,²⁹ John was thoroughly acquainted with the minute details that transpired during the lifetime of our Lord. His Gospel was designed not to supersede but to supplement the three already extant. This fact is not only attested by tradition handed down by Clement of Alexandria³⁰ and Eusebius,³¹ it is likewise borne out by actual

²⁵ Le Camus, Mgr., *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 34-35.

²⁶ Strauss, D. F., *Das Leben Jesu, für das deutsche Volk*, p. 109.

²⁷ Gould, E. P., *Gospel according to St. Mark* (International Critical Commentary), on Mk. 14:4, p. 258.

²⁸ Keim, T., *The History of Jesus of Nazara*, Vol. 5, p. 289.

²⁹ Donovan, J., S.J., *The Authorship of St. John's Gospel*, pp. 15-17.

³⁰ The account of St. Clement of Alexandria is given by Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, VI, xiv, ed. Loeb, no. 7, p. 48.

³¹ Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, III, xxiv, ed. Loeb, nos. 7-13, pp. 250-54.

comparison and analysis. In this way, one can account for the many omissions of the Synoptists. Thus, St. John in his account of the multiplication of the loaves (Jn. 6:1-15) is more exact in giving names than are the Synoptists (comp. Mt. 14:13-21; Mk. 6:31-44; Lk. 9:10b-17). Then, too, his Gospel is further removed in point of time, composed some sixty years after the events and discourses which he records.³² As a companion of Christ and an eye-witness with a half century of experience, St. John had spent long years in reflecting and preaching what his eyes had seen and his ears had heard (1 Jn. 1:1). Now, a fellow Apostle, after having studied and surveyed the true character of Judas for many years, could have discovered such repeated peculating habits of the traitor. St. John, therefore, did not need to invent this characteristic note, and deservedly called Judas a thief (Jn. 12:6).

The employment of ἐβάσταζεν in this passage (Jn. 12:6) causes a difficulty. The primary meaning of this verb is *carry*; St. John seems to insinuate the notion of *making away with*, for he was a *thief*. The Vulgate's rendition of ἐβάσταζεν by "portabat" would tend to attenuate the force of κλήπτῃς. Thus, Judas would be represented as simply carrying the coins that were put into the purse and not as misappropriating them. But the former meaning is already present in the expression of the same verse, τὸ γλωσσόκομον ἔχον; the latter, evidently, τὰ βαλλόμενα ἐβάσταζεν cannot mean the same thing. In virtue of Jn. 20:15, ἐβάσταζεν is to be taken here in the sense of "carried away with."³³

From the Johannine account of the anointing in Bethany, new information is given concerning the internal character of Judas. He has degenerated into a thief, a deceiver of the people, a hypocrite. That he could conduct himself in such a manner as to feign loyalty to his Master and anxiety for the poor shows how far he was removed internally from Christ. Doubtless, he was a man of marked financial ability, in recognition of which he was given the position of steward. At first, he managed the business affairs of the Apostles efficiently and was of great service. As long as he thought that a political kingdom was awaiting the pioneer

³² Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 92.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

Apostles, he was genuinely interested in the movement and looked forward to the time when he should become the official treasurer of a rich and prosperous government. Having been disillusioned at Capharnaum, he refused to become interested in the spiritual side of the movement. Hence, he degenerated into a thief. If no remunerative office lay before him in a temporal kingdom of Christ, Judas would at least make what he could of his position as treasurer of the Twelve. From the time of his hypocritical assent in Capharnaum, Judas became avaricious and then a thief. Heaven had chosen him to sit in judgment over the twelve tribes of Israel (Mt. 19:28) ; he refused that honor, preferring to follow the promptings of his lower self.

According to the peculiar position of the incident in Bethany, as related by Matthew and Mark, one would be persuaded to conclude that this event had a causal connection with the approximate simultaneousness of Judas' departure to confer with the Sanhedrin regarding the delivery of Jesus (Mt. 26:14-15; Mk. 14:10). In St. Thomas' opinion, the anointing was an occasion for the betrayal.³⁴ It is worthy of note that neither Evangelist relates the anointing in Bethany before the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem. According to the clear note of Jn. 12:1, the incident occurred in the house of Simon the leper "six days before the Passover." With the first two Synoptists, this account appears to be placed in the middle of their description of the activities of the Sanhedrin, and that, two days before the Jewish feast (Mt. 26:6; Mk. 14:1). Matthew and Mark, then, interrupt their narratives by relating the council of betrayal (Mt. 26:14; Mk. 14:10). What has induced them to deviate from the chronological order? Did they intend to show that this incident in Bethany gave Judas the impulse for the subsequent betrayal of Jesus? Belser³⁵ believes that there is a logical connection between these two events. Judas, through a vengeful sentiment quite natural to individuals when balked in their most ardent desires, now conceived the thought of delivering Jesus into the hands of His enemies. With the added reprimand received on the occasion of his criticism of Mary's

³⁴ S. Thomas, *Expositio in Sanctum Iesu Christi Evangelium secundum Ioannem*, cap. XII, lect. 1, p. 211.

³⁵ Belser, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

generosity, Judas must have found himself out of place in the Apostolic circle. He was certain that his Master was not what he had dreamed He was. Could He Who prophesied the ruin of Israel and His own death on the Cross be really the Messiah? (Mk. 8:31-33; 9:29-31; 10:32-34). These thoughts are said to have passed through his mind and the just rebuke produced in him an uncontrollable spirit of revenge. J. Grimm³⁶ asserts that Christ's reference to an early burial (Mk. 14:8) may have extinguished in Judas the last ray of hope that still may have remained with him concerning the political character of the Messiah. Now that he could attain nothing by continuing with Jesus, there awoke in him the desire to free himself. He simply awaited an opportune moment when he could betray Christ to the high priests. Haugg³⁷ thinks that such was hardly the case. According to the more reliable testimony of St. John's Gospel, the incident in Bethany had for its single purpose the unveiling of Judas' avaricious nature. The connecting particles *τότε* (Mt. 26:14) and *καί* (Mk. 14:10), which apparently seem to connect these two events, are quite indefinite, and consequently cannot be invoked in favor of a causal relation between the anointing in Bethany and the forthcoming betrayal. With Matthew the connecting particle *τότε* is used "to introduce something which was subsequent in point of time, not something which happened at a definite point of time."³⁸ On the other hand, *καί* "connects in a free and easy manner," comparable to the Hebrew *waw*.³⁹ Finally, Gould⁴⁰ does not see any logical connection between this and the preceding event, and writes: "But the council of the Sanhedrin, the feast and the anointing and the conspiracy of Judas, are simply put together as the events of this day."

The affront he received may have paved the way for the ultimate betrayal. But there are yet other contributing factors that must be considered. The betrayal was no sudden act; he had

³⁶ Cited by Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 95.

³⁷ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, pp. 93-98.

³⁸ Blass, F., *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, p. 276.

³⁹ Robertson, A. T., *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, p. 1180.

⁴⁰ Gould, E. P., *op. cit.*, on Mk. 14:10, p. 260.

been slowly gravitating toward it. The details at Bethany only bring out in clearer relief the suspected character of Judas. The final inducement must be sought in the incidents that took place in Jerusalem two days before the Jewish Passover.

CHAPTER VI

THE BETRAYAL

A. THE COUNCIL AND THE BETRAYAL

Soon after the raising of Lazarus to life,¹ the chief priests and Pharisees conspired to put Jesus to death. They feared that the Wonder Worker, rapidly gaining a large following because of His miracles (Jn. 11:43-53), would gradually supplant their authority. As the Jewish Passover was drawing nearer, the Sanhedrin issued a decree for the apprehension of Jesus: "But the chief priests and the Pharisees had given order that, if anyone knew where he was, he should report it, so that they might seize him" (Jn. 11:56b). Doubtless, this information regarding the recent resolution of the Sanhedrin must have reached Judas upon his entry into Jerusalem together with Christ. According to the interpretation of the Sanhedrin, the decree just issued was obligatory upon every orthodox Israelite.² The high Council was duty-bound to watch over all extraordinary religious movements current in the land. The responsibility for the enforcement of this decree rested solely with the Sanhedrin. Consequently, Judas now had an excuse to provide them with the necessary information concerning the whereabouts of Jesus in virtue of the obedience which he was obliged to exhibit toward the supreme religious authority in Israel. The obligation was placed upon every pious Israelite who, failing to comply with it, could no longer belong to the Jewish synagogue (comp. Jn. 9:22; 12:42). "If we let him alone as he is, all will believe in him, and the Romans will come and take away both our place and our nation" (Jn. 11:48). Wherefore, in the interest of religion and of country, the appeal of the Sanhedrin became more enticing, and the informer, if

¹ This conspiracy occurred as early as the Feast of Purim of the year in which Christ was crucified. Cfr. Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

² Schürer, E., *op. cit.*, Division 2, Vol. 1, p. 185.

found, would thereby render a veritable service for the common good of the country.

The triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem produced a very decided effect. The more the enthusiasm of the pilgrims for Jesus (Jn. 11:55; 12:12) grew, the greater became the impotent rage of the Pharisees (Mt. 21:15; Lk. 19:29; Jn. 12:19). In view of these recent developments, a new session was convened in the court of the high priest Caiphas (Mt. 26:3) "two days before the Passover" (Mk. 14:1). The decision reached at this point was a virtual death-sentence for Christ. "And they took council together how they might seize Jesus by stealth and put him to death. But they said, 'Not on the feast, or there might be a riot among the people'" (Mt. 26:4-5). According to the account given by Luke (22:2), the chief priests and Scribes were already determined to execute Him, for the council was convened to discuss the question, not whether Christ should die, but in what manner and when He should be apprehended and put to death. While this diabolical resolution was in effect, each evening Christ left Jerusalem and hid so that His enemies would not know of His whereabouts (Jn. 12:36; 18:2).

Judas set out from Bethany for Jerusalem soon after the banquet,³ that was held in the house of Simon the leper, and began to make his overtures of treason (Mt. 26:3,14). "And Judas Iscariot, one of the Twelve, went to the chief priests to betray him to them" (Mk. 14:10). According to Lk. 22:4, Judas discussed the matter also with the ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ στρατηγοῖς.⁴ The false disciple could not have been admitted to the deliberations of the Sanhedrin, for according to the express statement of Luke (22:4) Judas is said to have discussed the matter "with the chief priests and the captains." Certainly, the chief priests, Annas and Caiphas, had a seat and a voice in the deliberations of the high council. On the other hand, the officers of the Temple guard

³ Compare the significant statement of St. John (13:2): "the devil having already put it into the heart of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon, to betray him." Cfr. Belser, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-72.

⁴ Their full title is στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ (Lk. 22:52; Acts 4:1; 5:24). They were the leaders of the corps of Levites who kept guard in and about the Temple. Cfr. Josephus, *The Jewish War*, VI, v, 3, ed. Loeb, no. 294, p. 460.

were not admitted to a regular session. The negotiations of Judas were probably conducted through a committee of the Sanhedrin, composed of Annas and Caiphas, and the captains of the Temple guard.⁵

The appearance of Judas before the Sanhedrin caused them to rejoice, for they discovered a willing accomplice from among the intimate companions of Jesus (Mk. 14:11; Lk. 22:5). It renewed the hope of a happy success of their plan. The joy registered by the high council shows that the offer came at a very opportune moment. The recent events were of such a nature as to warrant the execution of the decree with speedy dispatch.⁶ As an Apostle,

⁵ Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

⁶ To deny the historicity of the betrayal on the grounds that Judas was not necessary for the success of the plot because the high priests were seeking how they might *by stealth* arrest Jesus and put Him to death after the Feast quietly and without a tumult, is without Scriptural support. So G. Schläger, "Die Ungeschichtlichkeit des Verräters Judas," in *ZNtW*, Vol. 15 (1914), p. 52. The fact itself, that Jesus was seized still before the Feast and without causing a riot, could have never been possible without the coöperation of Judas. Cfr. Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 100. Whether the original plan of the Sanhedrin was to put Christ to death before or after the Feast, cannot be decided with any degree of certainty, in spite of the ingenuity expended by Belser (*op. cit.*, pp. 166-67). He holds that the Matthaean account definitely favors the view of an execution before the Feast. Supposing that Jesus was apprehended within the two days preceding the Feast and held in safe custody until after the octave of the Passover, the ardor of the inhabitants of Judea and the pilgrims of Galilee who were favorable to Jesus would have naturally stormed the court of Caiphas. They would forthwith demand an explanation regarding the whereabouts of Jesus, if especially the plot were executed with secrecy. An immediate riot would have resulted, for only the fear of man and not God or the sanctity of the holy day animated the members of the Sanhedrin. Even if they could have postponed the execution of the plot till after the octave of the Passover when the pilgrims would have gone, the scheme would have a small prospect of success. Jesus could very likely escape and hide Himself, as He had done so often previously (Mk. 11:11b; 11:19; 12:12b; Jn. 12:36). At any event, whatever may have been the precise plan in the mind of the chief priests, Christ frustrated their plot by selecting and enforcing His hour upon His executioners (Jn. 13:1). Cfr. also the prophecies concerning the positiveness in point of time of His arrest, Passion and Death (Mt. 16:21; 17:22; Mk. 8:31; 9:31; Lk. 18:31ff; Jn. 2:19; 7:33; 8:28; 9:4; 10:15,17,18; 12:7,24,32). See further Le Camus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 163.

he knew best the ways and means how his Master might be taken prisoner by stealth and stratagem. The proposal, spontaneous, unexpected and entirely voluntary, proceeding from an intimate companion of the Man Who was their most bitter enemy, must have given them intense relief. The members of the Sanhedrin feared to execute openly (Jn. 7:25-27) their decision of putting to death the Prophet from Galilee (Mt. 21:11). They now felt perfectly justified in the eyes of the people and completely exonerated from every stain of guilt. The whole responsibility for His death would be cast upon a trusted disciple, upon Judas himself.

Judas probably harbored the pleasant thought of being hailed as an important ally. Yet, withal, in order to save their own dignity and to secure hold on the betrayer, the Sanhedrin treated him not as an honored associate but as a common informer, for they immediately began to pay him the thirty shekels. The negotiations were, therefore, reduced to an ordinary business transaction. When the contemptible betrayer tried to return the money after repenting the deed, they would have none of it (Mt. 27:3-4).⁷

The external impulse that could have prompted Judas to approach the representatives of the high council was probably the obligation to obey the command of the Sanhedrin. In this manner, he could very likely excuse himself, saying that his action was solely prompted by a conscientious performance of duty. Considering Judas' overwhelming love for money, the prospect of a reward for obedience helped to facilitate the step and made it more enticing.⁸ However plausible these external reasons may appear to us, yet they do not explain the intrinsic cause of the impulse. If this were the case, why did not any other pious and orthodox Jew avail himself of the opportunity, obeying the wishes of the supreme authority in Israel? The Scriptures tell us that Judas was impelled by Satan to approach the priests with his overtures of treason (Lk. 22:2-4). St. John (13:2) likewise relates that it was the devil that had placed this resolution into his heart.

⁷ Edersheim, A., *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, Vol. 2, pp. 476-77.

⁸ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 101.

According to the accounts of Mark and Luke, the members of the Sanhedrin promised to pay the traitor money for the services to be rendered. The amount is not given:

Mk. 14:11 καὶ ἐπηγγείλαντο αὐτῷ ἀργύριον δοῦναι.

Lk. 22:5 καὶ συνέθεντο αὐτῷ ἀργύριον δοῦναι. καὶ ἐξωμολόγησεν.

From Matthew we learn that Judas had bargained for a specified sum of money:

Mt. 26:15 τί θέλετέ μοι δοῦναι, κἀγὼ ὑμῖν παραδώσω αὐτόν; οἱ δὲ ἔστησαν αὐτῷ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια.

What is the source of Matthew's account? Feigl⁹ is of the opinion that Matthew, for want of a better figure and for the reason that the prevailing belief of the times acknowledged Jesus as the true Messiah, searched for a suitable passage in the ancient prophecies that might have some reference to a sum for which the Messiah might be sold. In order to enhance his narrative with an important detail, Matthew embodied the text found in Zach. 11:12 as his own, although the actual price of the betrayal did not amount to the sum given by the Evangelist. Then, too, the Evangelist does not employ *δίδομι*, the usual term to express a payment of money; but *ἵστημι*, which when used in connection with the payment of a debt means *to weigh out*. At the time of Christ, the practice of weighing out money fell into disuse. It is, therefore, a fiction contrived by Matthew. Frey¹⁰ proffers a very novel interpretation. Matthew is said to have first drawn his information from the Slavonic version of the *Jewish War* of Josephus, and from this text was then led to think about the prophecy contained in Zach. 11:12. Whereupon Matthew adopted the O.T. prophecy as his own and incorporated the same into his Gospel. Frey's utterly baseless assumption may be dismissed at once from our consideration. The text of the Slavonic version of Josephus' "Jewish War"¹¹ is a later apocryphal fabrication, and on that ac-

⁹ Cited by Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹⁰ Cited by Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹¹ Josephus, *The Jewish War*, ed. Loeb, appendix, Slavonic "additions," p. 650: "The teachers of the Law were overcome with envy, and gave thirty talents to Pilate, in order that he should be put to death." The interpolation probably refers to his *Antiquities*, XVIII, iv, 2, ed. Hudson. Vol. 2, p. 798. In this last passage Josephus omits the amount given to Judas for the betrayal.

count cannot be invoked as a source for the Matthaean insertion.¹²

Granted that *ῥοπή* is a technical term used of weighing out silver,¹³ and that this practice fell out of use during the time of Christ,¹⁴ it cannot in any way weaken the historical trustworthiness of Matthew.¹⁵ If the Evangelist selected the out-moded expression *ἔστησαν* in preference to the usual *διδόναι* we cannot be justified in attributing it to his ignorance of the then prevailing custom¹⁶ but rather to his familiarity with the Scriptures. In this circumstance, Matthew, under the direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost, saw a fulfillment of an O.T. prophecy. The sum was expressly foretold by Zacharias *καὶ ἔστησαν τὸν μισθὸν μου τριάκοντα ἀργύρου* (i.e. *σίκλους*). Therefore, it was not necessary for Matthew to invent a mythical sum of money in order to add local color to his narrative. If the amount given by him had no historical basis founded on a very clear prophecy, then the Evangelist, according to the same line of rationalistic reasoning, could insert without prejudice twenty pieces of silver, for which sum Joseph, a special type of the Messiah, was sold (Gen. 27:28).

Whether or not Judas actually received a lower or higher sum than that given by Matthew, cannot be ascertained.

In the Gospel of Matthew *ἀργύριον* is a specific silver coin (comp. 26:15; 27:3,9; 28:12,15), corresponding to the Hebrew *šeqel*.¹⁷ It was the shekel of the sanctuary, reckoned according to the standard of the Phoenician tetradrachma.¹⁸ Josephus gives the value of this coin at four Attic drachmae.¹⁹ The modern

¹² Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹³ Jer. 32:10 (M.T.) and Zach. 11:12 testify to an early practice of this method. For the term used in classical Greek, see Liddell and Scott, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 841, s.v.

¹⁴ Comp. Mt. 17:27.

¹⁵ Belser, J. E., *op. cit.*, pp. 173-74.

¹⁶ On the contrary, St. Matthew in 17:27 shows his familiarity with the existing customary expressions.

¹⁷ Robinson, E., *A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament*, p. 92, s.v. *ἀργύριον*, no. 2; cfr. also Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

¹⁸ Fraser, N., "Money," in *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (Hastings), Vol. 2, p. 200.

¹⁹ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, III, viii, 2, ed. Loeb, no. 195, p. 410.

equivalent was worth about sixty-four cents, and thirty shekels amounted to approximately nineteen dollars and seventy cents.²⁰ The amount, indeed, was small, but its purchasing power was worth then ten or twenty times as much as is the equivalent in dollars today.

The Law (Ex. 21:32) required a compensation of thirty shekels to be paid to the owner of a slave who had been killed by an ox.²¹ Thus, the high council placed upon the head of Jesus the price of a slave, and this coincidence is understood by Knabenbauer²² as a striking illustration of the truth expressed in Phil. 2:7 that our Lord took upon Himself the form of a servant.

The Gospel accounts remain silent as to the time when the money was handed over to Judas. There is every reason to believe that it was done not until Thursday night, immediately after the Lord's arrest.²³

B. MOTIVES OF BETRAYAL

The Evangelists do not provide us with an exhaustive analysis of Judas' motives. They state the facts objectively, on a purely historical basis, neither attempting to penetrate into the psychological possibilities that might have decided Judas in taking the fatal step, nor presenting the standpoint of the divine plan of Redemption.²⁴ "The greater sin" (Jn. 19:11) of Judas is probably the resultant of many motives. The external circumstances that led him up to the perpetration of the crime are only contributing factors, but not the real causes. Consequently, they cannot be said to be complete in themselves. What, then, could have been the radical reason for the act? Any attempt to solve this question by having recourse to the prophecies, in that such was the inevitable fate of Judas and that he was a base instru-

²⁰ Hartdegen, S., O.F.M., *A Chronological Harmony of the Gospels*, note to par. 272, p. 158.

²¹ In the second century B.C. the price of a slave amounted to 120 drachmae or equal to 30 tetradrachmae. See further 2 Mach. 8:9; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, XII, ii, 3, ed. Loeb, no. 33, p. 18.

²² Knabenbauer, J., S.J., *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), I, 2, on Mt. 26:15, p. 403.

²³ Fillion, L. C., S.S., *The Life of Christ*, Vol. 3, p. 359.

²⁴ Haugg, D., *op. cit.*, p. 108.

ment in the hand of God for the fulfillment of the plan of Redemption, is precarious and at the same time incompatible with the doctrine of the Church on predestination and free will. In addition, it would be a blasphemous presumption to conclude in favor of such a thesis.

A brief conspectus of thought on the various possible motives that completed Judas' determination to betray the Savior is given below.

MOTIVE OF AVARICE. The immediate motive advanced by the Evangelists was avarice. Judas addresses the chief priests thus: "What are you willing to give me and I will deliver him to you?" (Mt. 26:15). Objecting to having fine ointment worth three hundred denarii expended upon the anointing of His feet instead of being deposited with the money reserved for the poor, Judas became highly indignant. For that reason, St. John calls him a thief. Possibly, Judas hoped to reap a more considerable harvest by betraying Christ to a rich Sanhedrin and a powerful sacerdotal party. Thirty pieces of silver was not a considerable sum, but great crimes are known to have been committed for sums more paltry. Gain was his primary object. St. John Chrysostom describes the effects the inordinate love of money produced on Judas, among which were impudence,²⁵ blind passion, insane covetousness²⁶ and idleness.²⁷ The insatiable desire of gain made him become a devil in will.²⁸ By his greed, he became more vile than Satan himself,²⁹ for if Judas would have restrained himself, he would have never committed the cowardly act.³⁰ Wherefore, Judas is set as an everlasting example of greed. The covetous are exhorted by St. John Chrysostom to consider what befell

²⁵ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Proditionem Judae*, MPG 50, 717; *In Joannem*, hom. LXXII (al. LXXI), 1, MPG 59, 391.

²⁶ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *De Proditione Judae*, hom. I, 3, MPG 49, 377; *De Proditione Judae*, hom. II, 2, MPG 49, 384; *In Epistolam ad Philippenses*, cap. II, hom. VI, 5, MPG 62, 225.

²⁷ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *De Poenitentia*, hom. I, 2, MPG 49, 279.

²⁸ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Matthaeum*, hom. LXXXI (al. LXXXII), 3, MPG 58, 733.

²⁹ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Matthaeum*, hom. XXVIII (al. XXIX), 4, MPG 57, 356.

³⁰ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *Expositio in Psalmum VI*, 6, MPG 55, 79.

him. Judas enjoyed not the blood-money neither in this life nor in that to come, but lost all—and what is worse—his own soul.³¹

Exegetes, who consider avarice as the deciding motive, invoke 1 Tim. 6:10 and Eccus. 10:9 in support of their contentions. "For covetousness is the root of all evils." Judas, therefore, in his eagerness to get rich lost his grasp on the spiritual character of Christ's mission, and finally involved himself in the devilish proposition of betraying ignominiously the Son of Man. Excessive riches are condemned by Ecclesiasticus, "But nothing is more wicked than the covetous man." The motive of avarice is supported by Origen,³² St. Cyril of Jerusalem,³³ St. Thomas Aquinas,³⁴ Calmet,³⁵ Lépiciér,³⁶ Tirinus,³⁷ Breen,³⁸ Ainger,³⁹ Buzy⁴⁰ and Pirot.⁴¹ In their respective opinions, however, the aforementioned exegetes likewise recognize the fact that the motives may easily have been complex, for a grave crime is often the resultant of many motives.

LOSS OF FAITH. It was perfidy that made Judas the betrayer. That he lost his faith in the divine character of Christ is argued chiefly from the fact of his faithless conduct manifested already in Capharnaum (Jn. 6:71). Whether Judas declared his belief

³¹ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Matthaeum*, hom. LXXXV (al. LXXXVI), 2 MPG 58, 760; *In Matthaeum*, hom. IX, 6, MPG 57, 184; *In Matthaeum*, hom. LXXXV (al. LXXXVI), 3, MPG 58, 760.

³² Origenes, *Commentarius in Matthaeum*, X, 9, MPL 13, 934; *ibid.*, XVI, 3, MPG 13, 1390.

³³ S. Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, *Cathechesis*, XIII, 6, MPG 33, 779.

³⁴ S. Thomas, *Expositio in Sanctum Iesu Christi Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*, cap. 26, p. 233. St. Thomas also attributes the sin of presumption to the false disciple, for he thus understands Mt. 26:15.

³⁵ Calmet, A., *In Evangelium S. Lucae* (Commentarius Litteralis in Omnes Libros V. et N. Testamenti), on Lk. 22:3, Vol. 8, p. 306.

³⁶ Lépiciér, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 384.

³⁷ Tirinus, J., *Commentarius in Matthaeum* (Commentarius in Sacram Scripturam), Vol. 2, on Mt. 26:13, pp. 129-30.

³⁸ Breen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 442.

³⁹ Ainger, A., *The Gospel and Human Life*, pp. 231-34.

⁴⁰ Buzy, *op. cit.*, on Mt. 26:14, Vol. 9, p. 343.

⁴¹ Pirot, L., *Évangile selon Saint Marc* (La Sainte Bible), on Mk. 14:10, Vol. 9, pp. 569-70.

in the divinity of Jesus⁴² when he made his open confession "I have sinned in betraying innocent blood" (Mt. 27:4), cannot be urged as the meaning of this statement. By this expression, Judas merely declares his natural sorrow and tardy regret, for he came to realize that the crimes laid to Jesus' charge were false, particularly that of stirring the people up to sedition. With falsehood, he had brought about the condemnation of innocent blood.⁴³

St. Augustine⁴⁴ assigns loss of faith as the chief motive, since Judas failed to imitate Christ. According to St. Ambrose,⁴⁵ his soul reached this excess of infamy by degrees. The loss of faith prepared the penetration of satanic influence on the will. Le Camus⁴⁶ analyses the genesis of the motive of betrayal. Accordingly, Judas is said to have begun with a mere doubt, and by degrees reached the extreme of unbelief and malice. Tired of hearing Jesus always announcing His Kingdom without ever inaugurating it, the disappointed disciple was urged by Satan to this mad act. With cynical impudence, he determined to give Him up to those who had decreed His death sentence, thus forcing Jesus either to prove His innocence or to betray His weakness. In addition to avarice, Lépiciér also assigns perfidy as a possible motive.⁴⁷ Knabenbauer⁴⁸ supports this view with slight differences.

SATANIC INFLUENCE. Luke (22:3) and John (13:2) inform

⁴² So Bonar, J., *Observations on the Conduct and Character of Judas Iscariot*, pp. 13-15. Etherius and Beatus (*Adversus Elipandum*, lib. I, in *Thesaurus Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum et Historicarum, sive Henrici Canisii Lectiones Antiquae*, Vol. 2, part 1, p. 340) show that Judas at this point did not believe Christ to be God but merely a man, because of the title he had given Him at the Last Supper: "Noluit dicere, 'Domine' sed dixit: 'Numquid ego sum, Rabbi?'"

⁴³ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Proditionem Judae*, MPG 50, 717; Fillion, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 485; Breen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 443.

⁴⁴ S. Augustinus, *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione*, cap. 15, 19, MPL 44, 119-20.

⁴⁵ S. Ambrosius, *Apologia David Altera*, cap. XI, 59, MPL 14, 911.

⁴⁶ Le Camus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 165-66.

⁴⁷ Lépiciér, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 384.

⁴⁸ Knabenbauer, J., S.J., *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), I, 2, p. 404.

us that it was Satan who inspired in Judas the resolution to deliver Jesus. The expression "Satan entered into Judas," is not to be expounded in the sense that corporal possession of Judas by the devil actually took place, but rather that the devil now gained the ascendancy over his will for the execution of the crime already contemplated.⁴⁹ It is a forceful way of explaining the satanic malice, so abhorrent to the Evangelists. The Evangelists wish to express their horror and aim to bring out his malice and confirmation in evil.⁵⁰ That he was not an energumen is evident from the fact that he was not deprived of his free will.⁵¹ Judas merely prepared the entrance for Satan and was free to resist or to accept him. We observe that the false disciple deputed himself as a normal individual on the following day in the Cenacle. The Evangelists would be certain to detect any extraordinary bodily manifestations occurring to Judas and would mention the fact in their respective accounts.

Avaricious by circumstances and declared faithless by divine prescience, his whole being was now ready—especially during the last week—to submit to the malicious suggestions of Satan.⁵² At this point of his Apostolic career, Judas was confirmed in hypocrisy. Lacking energy to take the initiative, only the diabolical malice of hell could prompt an individual to take such a fatal step. Hence, Satan exerted his most wily influence because he found a willing accomplice in Judas. Profiting by his blind passion and perverted will, Satan instigated Judas by the most powerful suggestions at his command, to which the Apostle was peculiarly susceptible.⁵³ Having failed to alter his hypocritical course of life, it is no wonder that Judas turned traitor,⁵⁴ preferring the dictates of Satan to the salvific words of Jesus. When

⁴⁹ Knabenbauer, J., S.J., *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Lucam* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), on Lk. 22:3, p. 575; MacRory, J., *The Gospel of St. John*, on Jn. 13:2, p. 231; Bernard, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 13:27, Vol. 2, p. 474.

⁵⁰ Fillion, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 358.

⁵¹ Origenes, *In Canticum Canticorum*, IV, MPG 13, 193.

⁵² Origenes, *Commentarius in Matthæum*, XVI, 2 MPG 13, 1366.

⁵³ MacEvilly, *An Exposition on the Gospels*, on Mt. 26:14, p. 499.

⁵⁴ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *Contra Judaeos et Gentiles, Quod Christus sit Deus*, 8, 11, MPG 48, 825, 828.

the moment arrived to make the decisive step, Satan inclined his intellect and will to betray the Son of God.⁵⁵

BALKED AMBITION. Another motive, that probably led Judas to betray Christ, may have been the feeling of vindictiveness and a confused desire to assert his imagined power to stay the career of the Master Who reproved him. All along, he labored under the illusion that a brilliant and progressive kingdom would be the outcome of Christ's continuous preaching. The words that spoke of an early burial and the conspiracies of the priests convinced him at last that the Messianic Kingdom was not of this world and the dream of power and wealth to be enjoyed in it was nothing else but a delusion. It was difficult, indeed, for a proud and ambitious temperament to admit that his own untiring efforts were wasted and his services no longer needed.⁵⁶ Actuated by intense feelings of hatred and revenge, he decided to avail himself of this opportunity—for the death of Jesus was decreed by the Sanhedrin. Judas, therefore, designed to hasten the execution of those plans, before they might be foiled again by some unexpected intervention of God.

His honor was injured on more than one occasion. His chagrin at the wasteful extravagance of the ointment; the manner in which Jesus publicly reproved his hypocritical lament at the feast in Bethany; and, in general, the little attention, which he received in comparison with other disciples whose faith was unquestioned—all these factors converted his affection and sincerity for his Master into hatred and bitter feelings of revenge.⁵⁷ According to Bruce,⁵⁸ Judas probably found himself out of place in the Apostolic circle. The fact that he was a native of another province might have given rise to ill feelings of jealousy, sectional opinions and prejudices. There was fear in his mind. The thought of being discovered in his petty thieveries made him become spiteful. "The mere consciousness that Jesus did not *think* well of

⁵⁵ A Lapide, Cornelius, *In Sanctum Matthaeum* (Commentaria in Scripturam Sacram) on Mt. 26:14, Vol. 15, p. 547.

⁵⁶ Ewald, H., *History of Israel*, Vol. 6, pp. 407-09.

⁵⁷ So Kaiser and Klopstock, cited by Strauss, D. F., *Life of Jesus*, p. 608; Plummer, A., "Judas Iscariot," *Dictionary of the Bible* (Hastings), Vol. 2, p. 797; Schaff, D. S., "Judas Iscariot," *Religious Encyclopedia* (ed. by P. Schaff), Vol. 2, p. 1207.

⁵⁸ Bruce, A. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 373-75

him, and still more the shame of an open rebuke, would breed sullen resentment and ever-deepening alienation of heart; till at length love was turned to hatred, and the impenitent disciple began to cherish *vindictive* passions."⁵⁹ The kiss of betrayal proved that. Belser⁶⁰ is likewise of the opinion that Judas was moved by revenge, principally because of the reprimand received in Bethany.

GOOD MOTIVES THEORY. A few critics endeavor to exculpate Judas to a great extent. They explain the action of Judas as arising not from avarice or malicious intent but rather from an honest patriotic motive to hasten the hour of His Messianic triumph. In fact, Judas thought that he was rendering a valuable service to Jesus.

This theory was first developed by De Quincey⁶¹ and soon found eager followers, who were perhaps fascinated more by the charm of his literary style rather than by the theory's degree of probability.⁶² Thus, Whately,⁶³ Paulus and Hase⁶⁴ are the principal supporters of his view, which they have reproduced with slight modifications. The following are its chief features. Judas like the rest of the Apostles had absolute confidence in

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

⁶⁰ Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁶¹ De Quincey, T., *Works*, "Judas Iscariot," Vol. 6, pp. 1-34. He writes in part: "That neither any motive of his, nor any ruling impulse, was tainted with the vulgar treachery imputed to him, appears probable from the strength of his remorse. And this view of his case comes recommended by so much of internal plausibility, that in Germany it has long since shaped itself into the following distinct hypothesis: Judas Iscariot, it is alleged, participated in the common delusion of the apostles as to that earthly kingdom which, under the sanction and auspices of Christ, they supposed to be waiting and ripening for the Jewish people. So far there was nothing in Judas to warrant any special wonder or any separate blame. If he erred, so did the other apostles. But in one point Judas went further than his brethren—viz., in speculating upon the reasons of Christ for delaying the inauguration of this kingdom." (p. 1).

⁶² Tasker, J. G., "Judas Iscariot," *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (Hastings), Vol. 2, p. 911.

⁶³ Whately, R., *Essays on some of the Dangers to Christian Faith*, Discourse 3, pp. 321-51.

⁶⁴ Cited by Strauss, *Life of Jesus*, p. 608.

Christ and believed that the Savior would not suffer Himself to be put to death by His Jewish enemies. Trusting to his own imaginations that the kingdom was to be of this world, he was all along carrying out a subtle plan by which he expected to force Jesus to manifest His Messianic powers and thus realize as soon as possible the triumph of a new kingdom under the rule of the long-awaited Messiah. Alive to the danger that the climax was near and genuinely convinced of a temporal kingdom, the false disciple now decided to deliver Jesus to the Sanhedrin, before doubts in his mind could have time to form. The belief, that for this service he would receive a position of influence he long had coveted, made him resort to the expedient of an apparent betrayal. There may have been the thought in his mind that, after all, the betrayal could do no harm, that his Master would easily prove His innocence, or by some miraculous demonstration effect an escape.⁶⁵ Theophylactus⁶⁶ informs us that there were some in his day who thought that Judas did not anticipate the death of his Master as a consequence of the betrayal. On the contrary, he supposed that Jesus would escape from His enemies by an exertion of His supernatural powers, as He had often done previously. After the delivery of Jesus to the Roman executioners, Judas realized that he had been mistaken and was grieved at having allowed himself to be swayed by an exalted enthusiasm. He now fell into despair and committed suicide. This is regarded as a proof that the disappointed disciple had expected the opposite result.⁶⁷

The impious sect of the Cainites⁶⁸ held that Judas had liberated himself from the narrow Jewish opinions of the other Apostles

⁶⁵ Lightfoot, J., *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Euangelium Lucae* (Opera Omnia), on Lk. 22:47, Vol. 2, p. 562. This is not to be construed as an opinion of Lightfoot.

⁶⁶ Theophylactus, *Enarratio in Evangelium Matthaei*, cap. 27, 3-5, MPG 123, 459.

⁶⁷ Renan, E., *Vie de Jésus*, pp. 380-82.

⁶⁸ S. Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, I, 31, MPG 7, 704; Theodoretus, *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, I, 15, MPG 83, 368; S. Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses*, lib. I, tom. III, haer. 38, MPG 41, 654ff. The Gnostic sect of Cainites made their appearance in the second century A.D., and venerated Cain, Esau, Korah and the Sodomites as related to

and attained to the Gnosis by reason of his betrayal of Jesus. Judas also knew that by His death the power of the Demiurge who ruled the world would be overthrown.

This theory supposes that the Apostle judged wrongly, but that he harbored no evil intentions. It is at variance with the Gospel data, for it fails to take into account Christ's many discourses on the spiritual character of the New Dispensation as well as the stern words of condemnation uttered by Christ at Capharnaum, Bethany and in the Upper Room.

THEORY OF PSYCHOLOGICAL DISILLUSION.⁶⁹ Other critics attempt to explain the motive of betrayal upon psychological grounds. The ever-growing feeling of discontent culminated in disillusion. Judas suspected all along that Jesus was a "false" Messias. In order to liberate himself from agonizing frustration, he committed the cowardly act of betrayal. Among the principal exponents of this theory are: Kohler,⁷⁰ Réville,⁷¹ Weiss,⁷² Holtzmann,⁷³ Keim,⁷⁴ Brandt and Hess,⁷⁵ and Neander.⁷⁶

This theory assumes that Judas, conceiving at first the finest hopes regarding the great Wonder Worker Whose fame was broadcast about Palestine, joined the Apostolic circle rather late.

themselves. They declare that they have been assailed by the Creator and add that Judas alone was thoroughly acquainted with the true Gnosis and thus accomplished the mystery of the betrayal by overthrowing the power of the Demiurge. This impious sect possessed a small composition which they called the Gospel of Judas. Fortunately no single line of the text has been preserved. Cfr. Goodspeed, E. J., *A History of Early Christian Literature*, p. 294. On the other extreme, C. S. Griffin (*Judas Iscariot the Author of the Fourth Gospel*), in a brochure on which, he confesses, he worked for five years, makes the bold claim that Judas Iscariot wrote the fourth Gospel and the three Epistles of St. John. He argues from the fact that the author (Judas) purposely hides his identity on several occasions. He always speaks of himself as "another disciple," or "the disciple whom Jesus loved."

⁶⁹ Fillion, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 630-31.

⁷⁰ Kohler, K., "Judas Iscariot," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 7, p. 371.

⁷¹ Réville, A., *Jésus de Nazareth*, Vol. 2, pp. 342-50.

⁷² Weiss, J., *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments*, Vol. 1, p. 92.

⁷³ Holtzmann, O., *The Life of Jesus*, p. 447.

⁷⁴ Keim, T., *The History of Jesus of Nazara*, Vol. 5, pp. 292-94.

⁷⁵ Cited by Fillion, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 631, note 248.

⁷⁶ Neander, A., *The Life of Jesus*, par. 264, pp. 419-25.

He expected many great favors in return for becoming an associate of Christ in the establishment of a political kingdom. It did not take long for him to realize that Christ evidently intended to found a spiritual kingdom. Seeing that his membership was a pretense, he lost the faith. Gradually, he fell into the practice of deceit and hypocrisy, which then generated fierce emotions of hatred and vengeance, and at length total disappointment. Jesus no longer impressed him with His doctrine and miracles. With the growing hostility of the priests against Jesus, he saw that the climax was near. The future of the Apostles looked dark. They would perforce share the danger with Jesus, the Leader of the group of disillusioned disciples. It availed him nothing now to remain faithful to a movement by which he was no longer fascinated. Then, too, Judas could not carry on any longer in a group that was constantly growing uncongenial towards him. Escape was the only solution. He was desperately looking for an opportunity to provide an outlet for those concealed feelings of vengeance and hatred in consequence of his utter disappointment. Now that the priests were gaining the upper hand—first by secretly conspiring against Jesus and then by actually fixing a death penalty and perhaps even a reward for His apprehension—it was becoming clear to Judas that this “false” Messiah could no longer extricate Himself from their power. Judas Iscariot must act quickly in order to make himself secure with the party which held out the promise of triumph. It was, therefore, utter disillusion that found its culmination in a betrayal. Such are the emotions that are thought to have succeeded one another in Judas’ violent soul, and consequently have exonerated him from every stain of guilt for the death of Jesus.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Albert Réville (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 342) charges Jesus with part of the blame for Judas’ act of betrayal, since He knew beforehand that Judas would inevitably commit the crime. The unfortunate Apostle was nothing else than a base instrument in the divine plan of Redemption, for the Messias did not prevent the betrayal. In fact, He even furnished the means wherewith to effect the betrayal by retaining him in the Apostolic College. Being with Jesus for a long period of time, it was impossible to ignore the places the Master was most likely to frequent. According to the teaching of St. John Chrysostom (*In Proditionem Judae* MPG 50, 717), Christ was solicitous about the Apostle Judas by giving him all the graces necessary to with-

This theory finds no support in the Gospel records, and consequently is dismissed, without further consideration.⁷⁸

SATAN INCARNATE THEORY. In one of the strangest theories ever proposed anent the Judas problem, Buttner⁷⁹ has conceived Judas as an incarnation of Satanic wickedness. The comic personifications of the false disciple in folk-lore, as of Satan himself, are regarded by him as proof of this theory. Daub⁸⁰ states in clearer terms that Judas is the embodied evil who stands in direct antithesis to Christ who is the Embodied Good. The One was the power of God; the other the power of Hell. Both supplemented each other, for the divine Agent could not have accomplished His work in this world without the help of the devilish. Hence, Judas was received into the Apostolate for the express purpose of betraying the Messias. By enabling Jesus to fulfill His mission, Judas at the same time fulfilled his own. Fairbairn⁸¹ truly remarks that "this theory is without historical warrant, its reason is entirely a priori, its significance purely speculative. The man is to us simply a historical person, and must be interpreted as one, on principles and by standards applicable to human nature throughout the world."

MYTHICAL BETRAYAL THEORY. J. M. Robertson,⁸² Bertram,⁸³

stand the temptation. Failing to benefit by them Judas alone was responsible for the fall.

⁷⁸ L. C. Fillion, S.S., (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 631) is to the point when he says: "If Judas' treason is a very real psychological problem, why should we not be willing to solve it by means of the Gospel data, which are unquestionably authentic, and, despite their brevity, suffice for an explanation. It is useless to go to so much trouble seeking elsewhere what cannot be found. It requires a violent handling of the texts to eliminate the sordid avarice of Judas and to maintain that a motive of jealousy lay at the basis of the accusation which the Fourth Gospel makes against him."

⁷⁹ Cited by Tasker, J. G., "Judas Iscariot," *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (Hastings), Vol. 2, p. 911.

⁸⁰ Daub, C., *Judas Ischariot, oder das Böse in Verhältniss zum Guten*, in his introduction.

⁸¹ Fairbairn, A. M., *Studies in the Life of Christ*, p. 265.

⁸² Robertson, J. M., *Christianity and Mythology*, pp. 353-55; *Jesus and Judas, a Textual and Historical Investigation*, pp. 1-38

⁸³ Bertram, G., *Die Leidensgeschichte Jesu und der Christuskult*, pp. 2-64, passim.

Lublinski,⁸⁴ Schläger⁸⁵ and Plath⁸⁶ solve the difficulty by making the traitor a mythical or legendary individual. This theory is developed at length by Robertson in his two books, "Christianity and Mythology" and "Jesus and Judas, a Textual and Historical Investigation." Accordingly, Judas is said to be a character out of a primitive mystery-play. In the words of Robertson:

There, where all was poetic and mythic, a "betrayal" of the God would be almost a matter of course, given the primary myth that he died as a sacrifice among the Jews, who would not receive him as their Christ. In the "Gospel of Peter" "the Jews" figure as equivalent factors with Herod and Pilate in the crucifixion; and in the ritual-drama written for an audience so prepared, unnamed Jews would figure as the God's enemies and captors. At a later period, the anti-Jewish animus, which led to the presentment of the whole twelve in the gospel story as deserting their Lord at the supreme moment, would easily develop the idea of the actual treachery of one of the twelve, and to him be allotted the part of the leading captor, who to start with, had simply been Ioudaios, "a Jew." A bag to hold the reward would be a natural stage-accessory: in this way would arise the further myth that the traitor who "carried the bag" was treasurer of the group, and a miser and thief at that; while out of Ioudaios would grow the name of Ioudas.⁸⁷

In his latest work, "Jesus and Judas, a Textual and Historical Investigation," Robertson again defends his thesis of a mythical betrayal. He now has recourse to internal evidence, claiming that the story was a textual fabrication.⁸⁸

W. B. Smith⁸⁹ declares that the surrender of Jesus to the Gentiles seems unintelligible, unless we presuppose that the char-

⁸⁴ Lublinski, S., *Das werdende Dogma vom Leben Jesu*, p. 145.

⁸⁵ Schläger, G., "Die Ungeschichtlichkeit des Verräters Judas," in *ZNtW*, Vol. 15, (1914), pp. 55-58.

⁸⁶ Plath, M., "Warum hat die urchristliche Gemeinde auf die Überlieferung der Judaserzählungen Wert gelegt?" in *ZNtW*, Vol. 17, (1916), pp. 178-88.

⁸⁷ Robertson, J. M., *Christianity and Mythology*, p. 354.

⁸⁸ Robertson, J. M., *Jesus and Judas, a Textual and Historical Investigation*, pp. 31-38.

⁸⁹ Smith, W. B., "Judas Iscariot," in *H.J.*, Vol. 9 (1911), pp. 538-40; *Ecce Deus, Studies in Primitive Christianity*, pp. 310-13.

acter of Judas stands for Jewry. Jesus was delivered to the Gentiles according to the reading of Mt. 20:19, "the (the Jewish authorities) shall deliver him to the Gentiles." Smith admits the difficulty in that the symbolism of Judas (Judaeus) has not been carried out consistently in the Gospel narratives. He concludes: "We answer that the symbol has come down to us only in a highly elaborated and historicised form; such elaboration must always do violence to the original idea."⁹⁰

Apart from the proof that the entire Christian tradition has always maintained the historicity of the Gospels as well as the historical identity of the persons described therein, we might add that this theory is briefly refuted by Luke's statement: "The chief priests and Scribes *sought* how they might put Jesus to death; but they feared the people" (Lk. 22:2). Now, if the Sanhedrin feared the people and lacked the energy (Mt. 26:4; Mk. 14:1) to enforce their decisions openly, they therefore needed the coöperation of someone to aid them in the arrest of Him Whom they had condemned beforehand.⁹¹

None of these views suffices alone to explain the motive of Judas, for there may have been many motives combining to effect the determination to betray Jesus. At any rate, the immediate cause assigned by the Evangelists was greed and the suggestion of Satan. In the performance of his duty as treasurer, Judas was gradually acquiring the habit of appropriating money to his own purposes. Could a mere pittance of thirty shekels offer a sufficiently powerful impetus for the act of betrayal? We believe that in the case of Judas it did. It must be borne in mind that avarice was his dominant passion and avarice as such defies all punishment. There is no passion so headstrong as greed; none that so deprives an individual of cool and quiet reflection. Even if his Master would fetch thirty pieces of silver, Judas must deliver the Savior of the world, because it was an opportunity of getting money. According to the inspired word of God, "those who seek to become rich fall into temptation and a snare and into many useless and harmful desires, which plunge men into destruc-

⁹⁰ Smith, W. B., "Judas Iscariot," in *H.J.*, Vol. 9 (1911), p. 540.

⁹¹ Fillion, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 628.

tion and damnation. For covetousness is the root of all evils" (1 Tim. 6:9-10). The Apostle was turning every avenue of salvation to his own destruction by permitting Satan to influence his will. This mad desire for money was goaded on by the incident in Bethany.

Avarice alone cannot explain entirely his false step. To this was added unbelief. Since he had failed inwardly, nothing mattered except money. If Judas had continued to believe, he would have never become the betrayer of the Lord in spite of his inordinate love of money. A living faith would have brought this passion under submission to the divine program of Christ. To his own detriment, the successful negotiations with the Sanhedrin turned the scale. With this, Judas could subjectively justify his action by pleading that it was only his duty to obey the high religious authority in Israel. A very poor excuse in which to hide his concealed avarice and ever-deepening loss of faith! Then, too, if we assign loss of faith as the sole motive, it still does not provide us with a satisfactory solution. Why, then, did he not abandon Christ already at Capharnaum along with the rest of the disciples to whom the Eucharistic discourse was a hard saying? Any single-minded individual would soon come to realize that it was utterly profitless to persist in espousing a cause which was unintelligible. It was, therefore, hypocrisy mingled with false Messianic notions that impelled him to stay. He could not afford to forsake the Great Prophet in a critical moment, when, after all, Jesus might be the expected Messiah sent by God to inaugurate a brilliant, earthly kingdom. He would then regret the mistake. The lucrative position he so passionately coveted would be irrevocably lost. On the other hand, the ever-increasing opposition of the Savior toward the ancestral religion estranged Judas from Jesus. But Judas' proud and obstinate disposition failed to accept the spiritual character of the Kingdom. He was a stubborn realist who supported Jesus' cause only in the interest of liberating Israel from the domination of the Romans. Now that his ambition was balked, he determined to dispose of this "false" Messiah as promptly as possible. Convinced that his own ideals would never be realized, Judas seized the offer of the Sanhedrin and betrayed the Savior of the world. He lost the faith

and anything was possible. The sin of apostasy is irreparable, because the sinner rejects the sole means of salvation, Jesus Christ (Heb. 6:4-6).

The motivation based upon the false Messianic hopes of Judas remains only a hypothesis, for it cannot be definitely proven with the present sources at our disposal. The Evangelists are silent on this point. However, we may surmise that, ever since the reprimand received in Capharnaum, his Messianic enthusiasm had notably waned. He probably recognized in Jesus a man with a great personality, one who had a greater drawing power than any other important man in Israel.⁹² At the time of the betrayal, this Messianic thought was no longer present. He not only failed inwardly, but was disillusioned as well. In his passionate soul, there were still the dominant motives of greed and selfishness.

Such is the picture of Judas Iscariot drawn for us by the Evangelists. If we pursue inquiry into the radical reason for the betrayal, we must at once abandon the possibility of arriving at a satisfactory solution. It is true that Christ did not wish to escape the death unto which He was betrayed, for He gave Himself up for us (Gal. 2:20; Rom. 8:32). The heavenly Messias from the very beginning foresaw Judas' evil designs. In fact, an ancient prophecy spoke of one who would turn his heel against the Expected One of Israel (Ps. 40:10; Heb. 41:10). In this sense the false disciple coöperated with the eternal decrees of God. We can proceed no further. The complete analysis of Judas' motives will remain forever a question "locked up in the mysteries of God."⁹³

⁹² Haugg, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁹³ Breen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 99.

CHAPTER VII

THE UNMASKING OF THE BETRAYER

A. CONTENTION AMONG THE APOSTLES

HAVING received from the Sanhedrin thirty pieces of silver as a reward for his offer and prospective services, the false disciple returned to his Master. We possess none of the details concerning the Savior's whereabouts on the Wednesday of Holy Week. Probably, Jesus spent the night in quiet retirement with His friends in Bethany, praying alone to His heavenly Father, preparing Himself for the Passion and also conversing holily with the Apostles and companions, from whom He would be separated on the following day. The four Evangelists pass over in silence the details of Wednesday evening before the Passion, in order to introduce us directly to the incidents of Holy Thursday.¹

On the following day (Thursday morning), the Master sent Peter and John (Lk. 22:8) to begin preparations for the Paschal supper in a certain house in Jerusalem. Jesus, at first, seemed to have been inattentive to this matter, for it was the Apostles who proposed to Him the preparation of the Supper. "Where dost thou want us to prepare for thee to eat the passover?" (Mt. 26:18, also Mk. 14:12). This question of the Apostles was probably urged by Judas himself who desired to keep his word with the Sanhedrin. Seeing that he was now supplanted in his office as steward of the Apostolic circle in that Jesus charged His two faithful Disciples to carry out the necessary preparations, Judas must have experienced disagreeable reactions. Would his plan of betrayal become frustrated by this sudden action of Jesus? Probably not. The Master, knowing that His hour had not come, desired to keep Judas in ignorance regarding the place of the supper, so that a traitor might not disturb beforehand the fraternal union as well as the Institution of the Blessed Sacrament.² The very

¹ Fillion, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 360.

² Le Camus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 170.

indefinite direction given to Peter and John to approach "a certain man" (πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα, Mt. 26:18)³ in the city was especially disheartening to Judas. It may be even that he was worried by the new attitude Jesus had assumed toward him by concealing from him the very spot where the Passover was to take place.

"Now when evening arrived, he reclined at the table with the twelve disciples" (Mt. 26:20). The traditional Passover meal was now begun.⁴ Having expressed His great desire to eat this Passover with the Apostles, Jesus took the cup (the first cup of the legal meal), gave thanks and passed the chalice around (Lk. 22:15-17). He called their attention to the future Kingdom of God, where in His Eternal Glory the disciples would be united in the joys of Heaven (Mt. 26:29). When He mentioned the approaching Kingdom of God, the Apostles bickered among themselves as to which of them should be accounted the greatest (Lk. 22:24-30). It was not the first time that the Apostles had shown themselves interested in this point of honor and rank (comp. Mt. 18:1-5; 20:20-28). The irregular manner in which the chalice had been passed around may have occasioned the dispute regarding the seating of the Apostles, for the order of precedence was rigorously observed in every Jewish home. Thereupon, the Master calmed His jealous disciples by recalling to them the

³ The idiomatic Greek expression ὁ δεῖνα indicates a definite person in the mind of the speaker but whose name for some reason is not revealed. Cfr. Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁴ That the meal which Christ ate with His Apostles prior to the Institution of the Holy Eucharist was not the legal Passover supper was first denied by Marcion whom S. Epiphanius refutes. Cfr. S. Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses*, lib. I, tom. III, haer. 42, scholion 61, MPG 41, 762-65. In the sixth century John Philiponus taught the same doctrine. Later in the eleventh century the question was thoroughly debated by the Greeks and Latins. The former held that Christ used leavened bread for the Consecration; while the latter maintained the opposite (unleavened bread). Because of this difference of opinion, the Greeks concluded that Christ did not celebrate the Passover according to the Jewish rite but merely ate a common meal to which He subjoined the Eucharistic celebration. B. Lamy, (*Commentarius in Harmoniam sive Concordiam Quatuor Evangelistarum*, pp. 435, 506) and A. Calmet (*Dissertatio de Novissimo Paschate Domini*

ideal of true greatness, teaching them the fundamental principles of humility which should be practiced by those placed at the head of His Church, and exhorting them against the pride of the world which they should overcome.⁵

As to the Apostles' exact place, we know that St. John occupied the couch next to Jesus, for he reclined on His bosom (Jn. 13:23). Judas was close at hand, on the other side of the Master; while Peter reclined on the side of the table which would bring him directly opposite of St. John. The fact that Judas asked Jesus directly whether it was he who would betray Him (Mt. 26:25)—especially in such a manner as to escape the notice of the rest of the Apostles (Jn. 13:28-29)—is a proof that the traitor was near enough to the Savior to make possible a whispered conversation. The false disciple likewise could not have been far removed to receive the morsel of bread which designated him as the traitor (Jn. 13:26b). Peter, although retaining his privileged position among the Twelve, reclined at some distance, since he was obliged to appeal to John when he wished to learn the identity of the traitor (Jn. 13:24). Yet, withal, it is difficult to determine from the Gospel accounts how the Apostles were actually

nostri Jesu Christi in *Commentarius Litteralis in Omnes Libros V. et N. Testamenti*, Vol. 8, pp. 36-41) support this view. However, the Council of Trent reflects the common opinion of the Church when it declares: "celebrato veteri Pascha, quod in memoriam exitus de Aegypto multitudo filiorum Israel immolabat, (Christus) novum instituit Pascha." Conc. Trid., Sessio 22, cap. I, in *D.B.*, no. 938, p. 331. The Gospel accounts are equally clear on this point. The three Synoptists unite in saying that the Apostles had actually in mind the celebration of the legal Passover when they proposed to Christ the following question, "Where dost thou want us to prepare for thee to eat the Passover?" (Mt. 26:17; also Mk. 14:12; Lk. 22:9). Christ had not intimated to them that He intended to take this opportunity to institute the New Pasch. The Apostles thought simply that they all would eat the traditional Jewish Passover, according to the prescribed liturgy. Edersheim (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 490-512) is inclined to view the meal that lay before Christ and His Apostles not as the Passover proper but as the eating of the Chagigah, or a festive sacrifice. W. Sanday ("Jesus Christ," in *Dictionary of the Bible* (Hastings), Vol. 2, p. 634) thinks that the legal meal was anticipated by Christ, and that the Synoptists identify the Institution of the Eucharist with the Passover.

⁵ Belser, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-01; Le Camus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 193.

seated in the Cenacle. At any rate, they eagerly sought to recline at the right and left side of Jesus.⁶

While the Messiah was drawing the beautiful contrast between the humility required of the Apostles and the pride of pagan kings, there sat close to Him a man to whom the words conveyed no meaning. The bright promises of eternal happiness in the Father's Kingdom (Lk. 22:29-30), instead of bringing to him a message of hope and of repentance, confirmed him the more in his evil design to betray Jesus. These words appeared empty and strange, for Satan occupied his thoughts with pride and treason. It was the Savior's first appeal to Judas' heart; He hoped that these words would turn away his thoughts from the proposed betrayal. For repentance was still possible, even though he was sitting there with black treason in his heart. And the paltry sum could be easily returned, his honor saved and faith recovered, just as Peter was restored after repenting of his threefold denial.⁷ Yet Christ's appeal was ineffectual. And one of the reasons, probably, was the fear that the Sanhedrin would haunt Judas for his reversal of decision and theft of the sacred coins.

B. THE WASHING OF THE FEET

Adding example to precept, the Lord arose to perform an act of profound humility by washing the feet of His disciples. It followed immediately upon the strife for precedence.⁸ By this act, He intended to teach them a lesson in humility and self-denying charity. Many petty faults had found place among them, such as the quarrel which had transpired a few moments before. On former occasions, too, they had given vent to ill-feelings of ambition (Mt. 18:1-4), envy (Mk. 9:37-40) and vindictiveness

⁶ For a probable seating arrangement at the Last Supper, see Le Camus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 188, note 1.

⁷ Breen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 129-32.

⁸ Belser, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-02, 229-30. Biblical commentators do not concur in establishing the exact moment during which Christ arose to wash the feet of the Apostles. St. John (13:1-20) alone gives this account. That there was a close nexus with the strife for precedence is explained by the use of *τὸ ψωμίδιον* a technical word used in connection with the Passover ritual. The washing of the feet could not correspond to any special Rabbinic directive, for it was an extraordinary act on the part of Christ Himself.

(Lk. 9:51-56). It was most fitting that the immediate preparation for the reception of the Sacred Species should be preceded by a moral purification of their souls. The remission of these sins was symbolized by the washing of the feet. Regarding the meaning of the ceremony, Belser⁹ concludes that "... the washing of the feet, according to the intention of Our Lord, was symbolical of confession. This interpretation alone explains why St. John records the utterances of Jesus in this connection (XIII, 12ff) verbally."

St. John Chrysostom¹⁰ explains that the Savior came first to the traitor, then to Peter, and that the others were instructed afterwards. That He washed some one other before Peter is clear from the text, "He came, then (*οὕτω*), to Simon Peter" (Jn. 13:6). The significant *οὕτω* seems to imply this. Secondly, Judas being a forward person took a place above the Prince of the Apostles or next to the Master Who began the lustrations with him.

The constant association¹¹ with Christ made all the disciples clean with one notable exception. "And you are clean, but not all" (Jn. 13:10). On Judas, who in the meantime was planning treason, these words made little impression (Jn. 13:2). Indirectly, Christ was making another appeal to Judas whose soul was stained, confirmed in evil and deaf to the merciful goodness of God.¹² But, as with all who are set in their purpose, Judas was unwilling to dispose himself properly for the interior operation of grace, which was certainly effective in the remaining Eleven. The slightest sentiment of true contrition and penance would have restored him to grace.¹³ Le Camus¹⁴ brilliantly summarizes the impotent effort of our Lord: "... He (Jesus) felt the impotence of His grace before so evil a heart."

⁹ Belser, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-05.

¹⁰ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Joannem*, hom. LXX (al. LXIX), 2, MPG 59, 383.

¹¹ Braun, F. M., O.P., *Évangile selon Saint Jean* (La Sainte Bible), on Jn. 13:10-11, Vol. 10, p. 420.

¹² Fillion, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 381.

¹³ Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

¹⁴ Le Camus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 196: "... il a senti l'impuissance de sa grace devant un coeur si mauvais."

C. EXPOSURE OF THE TRAITOR

The washing of the feet was followed by the unmasking of the traitor. The four Evangelists unite in describing this sorrowful episode (Mt. 26:21-25; Mk. 14:18-21; Lk. 22:21-23; Jn. 13:21-30). It is, however, with the Johannine account that a serious difficulty is raised. Bernhard¹⁵ seeks to drive a wedge between Jn. 13:1-20 and 13:21-30, so that the full exposure did not occur until after the reception of the Eucharist by all of the Apostles. In like manner Vosté¹⁶ places the washing of the feet and the exposure after the Institution. A careful analysis of Jn. 13:1-30 will show that the washing of the feet, the exposure and the withdrawal of Judas from the Cenacle succeeded one another, and that—before the Institution. In the first place, John not only indicates the exact moment when the washing of the feet occurred but also disposes his account in such a manner as to suggest that the last two incidents are closely united with the preceding. Whether we accept the reading on Jn. 13:2 δέιπνον γινομένου (present participle, S#BLX) or the variant δείπνον γενομένου (aorist, AD, Vg. Chrys. Cyr.), the sense remains the same.¹⁷ This expression seeks to bring out the fact that the humble ministrations occurred during the legal meal. A more exact determination of chronology is given in Jn. 13:3 where it is stated that He “rose from the supper.” The meal could not have yet ended completely. The dish with the fruit sauce and the bread (τὸ ψωμίον) were still on the table.¹⁸ Secondly, St. John in addition to his exact chronological arrangement indicates a causal relation between these three events. To stress this relation, the Evangelist records the formal and oft-repeated words of Jesus, λέγω ὑμῖν (Jn. 13:19,20,21).¹⁹ It appears, therefore, from the use of this expression that there is a peculiarly intimate nexus between these three incidents. Belser,²⁰ Lagrange,²¹

¹⁵ Bernhard, S., S.J., “War Judas der Verräter bei der Einsetzung der heiligen Eucharistie gegenwärtig?” in *ZKTh*, Vol. 35 (1911), p. 52.

¹⁶ Vosté, J. M., O.P., *Studia Ioannea* (Opuscula Biblica Pontificii Collegii Angelici), pp. 242-49.

¹⁷ Bernard, J. H., *op. cit.*, on Jn. 13:2, Vol. 2, p. 455.

¹⁸ Haugg, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-31.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

²⁰ Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

²¹ Lagrange, M.-J., O.P., *Évangile selon S. Jean* (Études Bibliques) on Jn. 13:20, p. 358.

Meinertz²² and Haugg²³ consider the entire pericope of Jn. 13:1–30 as a continuous and an uninterrupted entity. It is a closed unit in itself, supplementing the account of the Synoptists. Since St. John does not busy himself with a description of the Institution—for he presupposes that his readers are sufficiently acquainted with it—he, nonetheless, wishes to supply interesting details that are lacking in the reports of the Synoptists.

* Jesus is careful to inform His Apostles that He wishes the foreknowledge of Judas' treason to serve as proof that He is the Messiah (Jn. 13:19). The unmasking of the traitor is no sudden act on the part of our Lord. We may distinguish three distinct phases in the exposure before it became definitive:²⁴

- (1) general allusion to Judas' approaching crime (Jn. 13:10,18);
- (2) designation of the traitor as one of the Twelve (Jn. 13:21b; Mt. 26:21; Mk. 14:18; Lk. 22:21);
- (3) positive indication of the person (Jn. 13:26).

In face of the first general intimation, Judas preserved an unclouded countenance, for none had yet suspected that Christ's application of the Psalmist's words had reference to a possible betrayal. The just indignation of the Apostles would have aroused them to expel Judas immediately, thus impeding largely the fulfillment of the divine plan. The intention of Christ seems to have been not to reveal his name at this point, for the time for departure had not arrived. That such was the case is evident from Jn. 13:18 where Christ states with emphasis that He wished to prove to Judas that He had not blindly become a victim of his outrageous design, and that at the same time He wished to allow the eternal plan ordained by Providence to be accomplished.²⁵

The Lord is now deeply moved with emotion as He declares more clearly than before, "Amen, amen, I say to you, one of you will betray me" (Jn. 13:21). These words filled the Apostles with uncertainty and sadness. The prediction now assumed the

²² Meinertz, M., "Zur Frage nach der Anwesenheit des Verräters Judas bei der Einsetzung der Eucharistie," in *BZ*, Vol. 9, (1911), p. 387.

²³ Haugg, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–37.

²⁴ Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

²⁵ Le Camus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 199–200

form of an oath ("Amen, amen"), as Jesus testifies more forcibly to the certainty of a betrayal.²⁶ The Apostles had not protested when the first allusion was made, for they probably did not fully comprehend the vague and indirect words used by their Master. Every Apostle save Judas felt the conviction of his own innocence and looked up to Jesus, appealing for help to clarify the secret, "Is it I, Lord?" However, no positive answer was returned. The designation of the traitor still remained general, but it clarified more the prophecy just cited (Jn. 13:18).

The time finally had arrived for Him to employ more decisive means (third phase). The privilege of knowing the identity of the betrayer was reserved for St. John upon Peter's anxious appeal to him. The answer whispered into the ears of John was a confirmation of the prophecy: "It is he for whom I shall dip the bread and give it to him" (Jn. 13:26a). And yet the answer explained nothing, for it was simply a variation of the Psalmist's words already cited; nor did it ostensibly designate Judas. Having finished this threatening declaration, the Master's answer was not expressed in words but in deed. He dipped the bread and gave it to Judas Iscariot (Jn. 13:26). Hitherto, the false disciple did not join the rest of the Apostles in asking the question regarding the person of the traitor. To depict the monstrous character of the crime still further, Jesus makes this terrible utterance: "but woe to that man by whom the Son of Man is betrayed! It were better for that man if he had not been born" (Mt. 26:24). Fearing lest he be betrayed by his very silence, Judas asked with brazen effrontery: "Is it I, Rabbi?"²⁷ By the hypocritical question, Judas concealed for the moment his plan of treason.²⁸ As it is the custom in the East for the host to present from time to time during the meal a morsel of bread to his guest in testimony of

²⁶ Fillion, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 287-88.

²⁷ "In the use of *μή* the answer in mind is the one expected, not always the one actually received as is illustrated in the *μή* question of the apostles at the last passover. They all asked *τί ἐγώ εἰμι, πάββει*; the very thought was abhorrent to them, 'It surely is not I.' But Judas, who did not dare use *οὐ* received the affirmative answer, *σὺ εἶπας* (Mt. 26:25)." Robertson, A. T., *op. cit.*, p. 1168.

²⁸ Origenes, *In Matthaeum Commentariorum Series*, 84, MPG 13, 1733-34.

friendship, we may assume that Jesus likewise chose this sign to make one final appeal to the traitor's heart instead of openly rebuking him.²⁹

Since the last appeal went unheeded, the Master resorted to the final expedient. According to the Passover ritual customary at that time, a morsel of bread (τὸ ψωμίον) was given by the presiding officer at the end of the meal to those who desired to leave. It served as a signal that the legal supper was at an end. "Only on the assumption that the dipping and the giving of the morsel was nothing extraordinary, but an act in perfect conformity with the Easter ritual, can we account for the fact that the departure of Judas did not surprise the other disciples."³⁰ The traitor decided at that point to quit the assembly in a hurry, for he perceived that his presence was no longer desired, having alone received the morsel of dismissal. "What thou dost, do quickly" (Jn. 13:27b). The rest did not understand the meaning of what had transpired. So well had Judas succeeded in concealing his perfidious scheme that the Apostles thought the Master had commanded the ordinary steward of the Apostolic group to purchase what was needed for the next day's feast and to distribute alms to the poor, which according to an old custom of the Jews were given to them at the time of great religious festivals (Nh. 8:10,12). Judas departed immediately, simulating friendship and concealing his plans.³¹

"And after the morsel, Satan entered into him" (Jn. 13:27). St. John Chrysostom interprets this text to mean that the demon, as long as Judas was a member of the Apostolic College, dared not enter into his soul, and that, within the sacred precincts of the Cenacle. But when Christ exposed him and manifestly excluded him from the rest, Satan then sprang upon the criminal fearlessly. It was not fitting for the prince of evil to remain within sight of the divine person of Christ.³² Had Judas changed

²⁹ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *De Consubstantiali contra Anomoeos*, VII, 5 MPG, 48, 763.

³⁰ Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

³² S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Joannem*, hom. LXXII (al. LXXI), 1, MPG 59, 391.

his obstinate course at this moment, he would have never received the stigmatizing epithet, "betrayer of the Lord." It is because the warnings of Jesus went unheeded that Satan finally triumphed.³³

St. John closes his account with a simple remark, both striking and tragic in its brevity: "When, therefore, he had received the morsel, he went out quickly. Now it was night" (Jn. 13:30). Darkness befitted the revolting work that Judas was about to perform.

The Institution of the Holy Eucharist followed. In our opinion it is very probable, although not certain, that Judas did not remain for It.

³³ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *De Baptismo Christi*, 4, MPG 49, 371.

CHAPTER VIII

ABSENCE OF JUDAS ISCARIOT AT THE INSTITUTION OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST

IT WAS on this eventful night that Jesus Christ established the priesthood of the New Dispensation by conferring upon the Apostles the sublime power of consecrating and offering His Body and Blood. After the Savior had concluded the New Sacrifice and distributed the Eucharist among them, He enjoined the Apostles to continue It: "Do this in remembrance of me" (Lk. 22:19; comp. 1 Cor. 11:24,25). He did not wish the New Pasch to be merely a transitory episode. The Savior established the Sacrament of Holy Orders at the same time as that of the Holy Eucharist, giving to His disciples and through them to all their successors in the hierarchy the power to change bread and wine into His Body and Blood. Thus, they became "servants of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God" (1 Cor. 4:1).¹

Did Judas Iscariot partake of the Eucharist together with the rest of the Apostles, and consequently did he become invested with Holy Orders? This question was long controverted in patristic and medieval times. Recent opinion of theologians and scripturists favors the absence of Judas. The problem of Judas' reception of Holy Communion includes the problem of his elevation to the priestly dignity. But since the phase of eating the Body and the drinking of the Blood of Christ takes chronological precedence over the ordination to the priesthood, the former will consequently be treated in the present chapter. The conclusion thus reached will of itself explain the latter phase of the problem.

In order to obtain a clear picture of the entire question, it will be helpful to recapitulate the traditional ritual followed by Christ at the Last Supper.

The legal Jewish Passover consisted of consuming certain foods and drink prescribed by the Law and of reciting the Hallel.

¹ Council of Trent, Sessio XXII, cap. 1, in *D.B.*, no. 938, pp. 330-31.

After everything had been properly prepared for its celebration, the ceremonial liturgy began.² Four cups of wine were customarily taken during this commemorative supper.³ A prayer of benediction, pronounced by the head of the family over the first cup, inaugurated the feast. The host first drank some of it, and then passed the chalice along to those gathered around the table. This was followed by immersing bitter herbs (*ḥāzereth*) and unleavened bread separately into the *hārōseth*, a dish consisting of fruit sauce.⁴ After this had been consumed, a roasted lamb was brought into the dining hall. It was permitted to break the flesh thereof into smaller pieces and to place them before each guest.⁵ The second cup was next taken, during which the meaning of the Paschal ceremony was explained by the presiding officer (Ex. 12:26–27), and the first part of the Hallel was sung (Ps. 112–113:7; Heb. 113–114). During the drinking of the third cup the flesh of the Paschal lamb was blessed and eaten. Finally, the singing of the second part of the Hallel (Ps. 113:8–117; Heb. 115–117) together with the drinking of the fourth cup of wine brought the Passover meal to a conclusion. Such, briefly, was the ceremony of the legal Passover of the Jews as prescribed by the Law (Ex. 12:3–6; Lev. 23:5; Num. 9:3,5,11,12) in commemoration of the Israelites' deliverance from Egyptian bondage.

The arrangement of the Paschal meal at the Last Supper was substantially the same except for the omission of minor details. During the time of Jesus Christ the Jews deviated slightly from the traditional ritual. Jesus likewise departed from the prescribed liturgy especially in the "Prayer" parts which were manifestly of His own making.⁶ According to the unanimous teaching of Catholic theologians and scripturists, Christ and His Apostles par-

² Mt. 26:17–20,29; Mk. 14:12–17,25; Lk. 22:7–18. Cfr. Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Vol. 4, Part 1, pp. 41–56.

³ Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, Part 1, pp. 57–61; Hirsch, E. G., "Passover," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 9, pp. 548–53; Lightfoot, J., *Chronica Temporum et Ordo Textuum N.T.* (Opera Omnia), Vol. 2, pp. 48–51.

⁴ Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, Part 1, p. 63.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

took of two meals, of which the first was the celebration of the legal Passover meal, while the second was the Institution of the Holy Eucharist.⁷ Christ, therefore, availed Himself of this last opportunity to connect the Old Pasch with His own New Institution. The chalice mentioned in Lk. 22:17 is generally identified with the first cup of the liturgical Paschal meal, over which Jesus pronounced a benediction. This was followed by the bringing in of the bitter herbs and the roasted lamb. During the course of the first meal, the exposure of Judas took place (Mt. 26:21ff). Accordingly, Judas ate the bitter herbs, but did not remain for the second meal which followed immediately (Jn. 13:30). The sign of dismissal was the dipping of the morsel ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ (Mt. 26:23), i.e. the sop or the *hārōseth*. Edersheim⁸ informs us that in the time of Jesus Christ the sop consisted of the following articles: flesh of the Paschal lamb, a morsel of unleavened bread and bitter herbs wrapped together.

At the beginning of the second meal, Christ pronounced the consecrating words over the bread, broke it and distributed it among His disciples, saying, "This is my body" (Mt. 26:26; also Mk. 14:12; Lk. 22:19). This was the Eucharist of the New Dispensation. In the account of Luke, there is no clear indication as to the exact moment when the Bread was distributed. In the Gospel notice of Matthew (26:27), the presentation of the Chalice followed immediately after that of the Bread. According to Lk. 22:20 and 1 Cor. 11:25, the distribution of the Bread is said to have taken place after the eating of the Paschal lamb, μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι. Now, in the liturgical Paschal meal it was the third cup that followed the eating of the roasted lamb, while the fourth cup came after the singing of the last part of the Hallel. Christ consecrated the wine in the third cup and presented It to His disciples as the Chalice of the New Covenant.⁹ St. Paul designates this cup as the "Calix Benedictionis" (1 Cor. 10:16). The Chalice

⁷ According to Strack-Billerbeck (*op. cit.*, p. 75) the twofold occurrence of ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν in Mt. 26:21 and 26 is said to point out that two distinct repasts were taken.

⁸ Edersheim, A., *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 506.

⁹ Belser (*op. cit.*, pp. 261-63) is of the opinion that the Eucharistic cup was the fifth cup which, although not prescribed for the Passover meal, could be used occasionally.

of the Blood of Christ, therefore, corresponds to the third cup of the legal meal.¹⁰ The usual song of praise or the Hallel formed the conclusion of the Jewish liturgical service, as it is to be assumed from the words in the Greek text, καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον (Mt. 26:30; Mk. 14:26). After this hymn (second part of Hallel), the fourth cup of wine was consumed. It is very doubtful that Jesus observed the drinking of this last cup, since it scarcely could have fitted His ritual.¹¹

The Gospel notices of Matthew, Mark and John indicate that Judas Iscariot was present only for the first part of the meal. Did they alone assert this, it would have been clear that he did not receive the Sacred Species (Mt. 26:22-28; Mk. 14:22-24). Although St. John does not record the Institution of the Eucharist, he presupposes his readers to be fully acquainted with it. It is, therefore, with Luke's account that the question as to whether or not Judas received the Sacred Species is raised.¹²

Such are the facts, but the interpretation thereof carries a wide difference of opinion. The Fathers of the Church as well as the medieval theologians are united, notwithstanding a few exceptions, in support of Judas' presence at the Institution. More recent biblical exegetes favor the negative side. It is very likely that the former position may have been urged by Christian teachers to point out the awful nature of a sacrilegious Communion. The example of Judas was used to discourage unworthy reception of the Lord and deter all from communicating unworthily. As for his ordination to the priesthood, it is suggested that the complete initiation to this sublime dignity was not conferred upon the Apostles until after the Resurrection.¹³ The author of an article appearing in the "L'Ami du Clergé" writes: "Et si nous

¹⁰ Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹¹ It is to be observed that the verb ὑμνεῖν is used of the singing of the Hallel, for in Rabbinical literature it appears in transcription as him'nōn. One chalice of which all drank was used at the Last Supper (Mt. 26:27; Mk. 14:23). Cfr. Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

¹² The Institution of the Holy Eucharist and the Ordination to the Priesthood is recorded by Luke in 22:19-20; the exposure in 22:21-23.

¹³ "The Sacrilege of Judas Iscariot," in *AmER*, Vol. 25 (1901), p. 452.

nous permissions de terminer cette enquête par un conseil pratique, nous dirion aux prédicateurs de ne pas abuser du personnage de Judas comme type de la communion sacrilege et du mauvais prêtre."¹⁴

Did Judas Iscariot, therefore, leave the Cenacle before the inauguration of the New Sacrifice, as Matthew, Mark and John seem to indicate, or did he remain to receive the Eucharist sacrilegiously, as Luke alone leads us to believe? We shall not answer this question until we have reviewed briefly the opinions of the Fathers of the Church, theologians and biblical commentators. We shall also endeavor to evaluate their conclusions and to decide whether or not they rest on Scriptural deductions.

A. EARLY CHRISTIAN TRADITION

Among the earliest documents in support of Judas' departure from the Upper Room prior to the Institution is Tatian's *Diatessaron*, which was compiled after 172 A.D. The Gospel narrative is arranged in such a manner as to indicate that the Institution took place after the complete exposure of Judas.¹⁵ Similarly, Ammonius of Alexandria¹⁶ (3rd century A.D.), in a Gospel harmony ascribed to him, disposes the Gospel text as follows: Mt. 26:17-24; Mk. 14:12-21; Lk. 22:7-23; Jn. 13:21-32; Mt. 26:26-35; Mk. 14:26-31; Lk. 22:14-20. The Church manual *Didascalia*¹⁷ of the first half of the third century seems to point to

¹⁴——— *L'Ami du Clergé*, Vol. 33 (1911), p. 1098.

¹⁵ Cap. 45, in Ciasca, A., *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniae*, pp. 79-80.

¹⁶ Victor Capuanus, *Ammonii Alexandrini Evangelicae Harmoniae*, 155, 156, MPL 68, 339-40. The Latin version of Tatian's *Diatessaron* is the product of an anonymous writer, who using the revised text of St. Jerome's Vulgate (383 A.D.), lived about the year 500 A.D. Victor Capuanus (died 554 A.D.) preserved this recension for us when he inserted it in the Codex Fuldensis of the N.T. Vulgate. This recension is sometimes ascribed to Ammonius of Alexandria (3rd century), who, according to Eusebius (*Epistola ad Carpianum*), is said to have compiled a Gospel harmony. See further Bardenheuer, O., *Patrology*, p. 60.

¹⁷ *Didascalia*, V, 14, 1-2, in Funk, F.X., *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Vol. 1, pp. 270-72: "Nam cum eo tempore, quo adhuc nobiscum erat, priusquam pateretur, pascha cum eo comederemus, nobis dixit: 'Hodie in hac nocte unus ex vobis me traditurus est.' Et diximus ei, unusquisque nostrum: 'Numquid ego, Domine?' Et respondens nobis ait: 'Qui

the presence of Judas at the Last Supper. The enlarged recension of the *Didascalia*, the so-called *Apostolic Constitutions*,¹⁸ embodying a compilation of Ecclesiastical law, are clear in support of Judas' absence: "When He had delivered unto us the like mysteries of His precious Body and Blood, Judas not being present with us, went out to the Mount of Olives, near the Brook Cedron where there was a garden; but we remained and sang hymns according to the custom."

B. FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

In general, the Fathers of the Church maintain the affirmative position. Basing their contentions principally on Lk. 22:19-20 and 1 Cor. 11:29, they conclude that Judas Iscariot communicated sacrilegiously and in consequence was invested with the priestly dignity.

Origen¹⁹ (185-255 A.D.) claims that the sop which Christ gave to Judas was actually the consecrated Eucharist. The traitor did not consume it, but merely took the Bread in his hands, left it there and withdrew immediately to consummate his evil design. He thus understands the words of St. Paul (1 Cor. 11:29) and St. Matthew (26:26). The Body and Blood of Christ produced two distinct effects: the Eleven attained salvation, while Judas alone was consigned to the eternal torments of hell.

St. Cyprian²⁰ (200-258 A.D.) defends the position that Judas received communion sacrilegiously.

St. Hilary of Poitiers²¹ (310-366) is among the very few who adopt the contrary opinion. Thus, Judas is said to have left the Cenacle after his exposure by Christ, because he was undeserving of the eternal Sacrament (Mt. 26:29).

porrigit manum suam mecum in paropsidem, hic est.' Et surrexit Iudas Iscariotes, qui erat unus ex nobis, et abiit, ut eum traderet."

¹⁸ *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, V. 14, 7, in Funk, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 273. The so-called *Apostolic Constitutions* are reported to have made their appearance toward the end of the fourth and at the beginning of the fifth centuries.

¹⁹ Origenes, *Commentaria in Joannem*, XXXII, 16, MPG 14, 810.

²⁰ S. Cyprianus, *De Bono Patientiae*, VI, MPL 4, 626.

²¹ S. Hilarius, *Commentarius in Matthaeum*, 30, 2, MPL 9, 1065.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem²² (ca. 315–386 A.D.) espouses the opinion that Judas received at the Last Supper. Basing his view on a prophecy contained in Ps. 40:10, he understands Jn. 13:30 as its fulfillment.

With a cry of a disappointed soul, St. Jerome²³ (331–420 A.D.) is perplexed both at the Lord's patience in giving Judas the Sacred Species as well as at Judas' temerity and impudence in receiving. The sop is identified with the Holy Eucharist. It was not necessary for the Master to designate the traitor by name, since it was sufficiently manifest to all that Judas was bent on carrying out the plot. Nonetheless, Judas is said to have feigned friendship by putting his hands along with Christ's into the dish. By this bold act, he disclosed the wickedness of his soul. Elsewhere,²⁴ St. Jerome interprets Mk. 14:23 to mean that Judas could not have left the Cenacle when the Eucharist was instituted. He consumed the Blood of Christ, but failed to save his own soul. Finally, St. Jerome²⁵ sees in the words of St. Paul (1 Cor. 11:27) a direct allusion to Judas' unworthy reception, and in turn enjoins the faithful to dispose themselves properly when approaching the Sacrament.

In the opinion of St. Ambrose (340–397 A.D.),²⁶ there is no doubt about Judas' sacrilegious Communion. With the other Apostles he approached this great Sacrament but as an unbeliever.

The authority of St. John Chrysostom (344–407 A.D.) is regarded as representative of the positive view. In his two homilies *On the Betrayal of Judas*,²⁷ the golden-mouthed orator waxes eloquently on the subject of Judas' presence at the Institution of the Blessed Sacrament. Despite the unusual favor of having been permitted to be present in the very sight of God Himself, his

²² S. Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, *Catechesis*, XIII, 6, MPG 33, 779.

²³ S. Hieronymus, *Commentaria in Evangelium Matthaei*, IV, xxvi, 23, MPL 26, 194.

²⁴ S. Hieronymus, *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Marcum*, XIV, MPL 30, 632.

²⁵ S. Hieronymus, *Adversus Jovinianum*, II, 25, MPL 23, 521.

²⁶ S. Ambrosius, *Apologia David Altera*, XI, 59, MPL 14, 911.

²⁷ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *De Proditione Judae*, Hom. I, 3, MPG 49, 377; *ibid.*, hom. II, 5, MPG 49, 389.

irresponsive soul grew worse.²⁸ Neither the fear of eternal loss, nor the kindness of Christ, nor the dignity of the Apostolate moved the son of Simon to repent. For, inasmuch as Judas had no reasonable excuse to offer for withdrawal, he was obliged by circumstances to remain for the Consecration lest his plot should become manifest.²⁹

In accordance with the order of events indicated in the third Gospel, St. Augustine (354-430 A.D.) admits that the traitor received along with the others. He invokes both moral and Scriptural arguments, and reproves those who hold a contrary opinion in that they read the narrative of Luke *negligenter*.³⁰ St. Augustine made the eternal loss of Judas, consequent upon his sacrilegious communion, a lasting example for all Christians. Iscariot became a thief of divine mysteries. Ecclesiastical theft proper is defined by the Doctor of Grace, not as the physical abduction of material things belonging to the Church, but as the sacrilegious reception of the Body and Blood of Christ.³¹ All ate and drank of the same life-giving substance, but with this difference that the rest of the Apostles gained eternal happiness while Judas merited for himself the eternal torments of hell.³² Contrasting the holiness of the Eucharist with the impiety of the faithless communicant, St. Augustine exhorts the faithful to prepare themselves properly before approaching the Eucharistic Banquet. The same Body and Blood of Christ can produce a twofold effect upon the soul: moral purification or moral depravity, depending upon the disposition of the recipient. What Judas received was

²⁸ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Matthaeum*, hom. LXXXI (al. LXXXII), 1, MPG 58, 737.

²⁹ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *De Proditione Judae*, hom. I, 5, MPG 49, 380.

³⁰ S. Augustinus, *In Joannis Evangelium*, tract. 62, cap. 13, 3, MPL 35, 1802: "Non autem, ut putant quidam negligenter legentes, tunc Judas Christi corpus acceperit. Intelligendum est enim, quod jam omnibus eis distribuerat Dominus Sacramentum Corporis et Sanguinis sui, ubi et ipse Judas erat, sicut sanctus Lucas evidentissime narrat (Lk. 22:19-21)." See also S. Augustinus, *Sermones*, LXXI, cap. xi, no. 17, MPL 38, 453.

³¹ S. Augustinus, *In Joannis Evangelium*, tract. XXVI, cap. vi, 11, MPL 35, 1611.

³² *Loc. cit.*, see also *In Joannis Evangelium*, tract. LIX, cap. xiii, 1, MPL 35, 1796.

not evil as such; rather it was the false disciple who was evil in receiving a good Thing unworthily.³³ This led St. Augustine to an inquiry into the reason why Christ granted him permission to approach the Mystery. He solves it by formulating the principle of Christian tolerance.³⁴ The permission itself displays the marvelous patience with which the God-Man had embraced a weak creature. Although Christ was not deceived by Judas, yet He offered Himself to him under the species of bread and wine in order to signify by this action that repentance was still possible. What made the conversion of Judas impossible was his own act of rejecting the grace of God.³⁵

Theodoret of Cyrus³⁶ (386-458 A.D.) also favors the positive view, and explains that the type or the Pasch of the O.T. was realized in the archtype, the Eucharist. Christ, therefore, opened the portals of the New Sacrifice to all of the Apostles, including Judas.

In the earliest of his exegetical writings on the N.T.,³⁷ viz., *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John*, St. Cyril of Alexandria (flourished ca. 400 A.D.) declares in passing that Judas committed a sacrilege.³⁸ In his *Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew*, which appeared later, the contrary opinion is adopted.³⁹

³³ S. Augustinus, *Joannis Evangelium*, tract. LXII, cap. xiii, 1, MPL 35, 1801; *ibid.*, tract. VI, cap. i, 15, MPL 35, 1432; *ibid.*, tract. XXVI, cap. vi, 11, MPL 35, 1611: "Non quia malum accepit, sed quia bonum male malus accepit." See also S. Augustinus, *De Baptismo contra Donatistas*, V, 8, MPL 43, 181; *De Conjugiis Adulterinis*, I, xxvii, 34, MPL 40, 470.

³⁴ S. Augustinus, *Epistolae*, classis II, epist. 44, cap. 5, 10, MPL 33, 178; *ibid.*, epist. 93, cap. 4, 15, MPL 33, 329: "Non enim propter malos boni deserendi, sed propter bonos mali tolerandi sunt."

³⁵ S. Augustinus, *Enarratio in Psalmos*, III, 1, MPL 36, 73; *ibid.*, X, 6, MPL 36, 135; *Contra Litteras Petilianis*, II, xxii, 50, MPL 43, 275-76.

³⁶ Theodoretus, *Interpretatio Epistolae I ad Corinthios*, XI, 23-25, MPG 82, 316-17.

³⁷ Bardenhewer, O., *Patrology*, p. 364.

³⁸ S. Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Commentarium in Joannem*, lib., VII et VIII, fragmenta, 12, 6, MPG 74, 75; *ibid.*, lib. IX, 13, 21, MPG 74, 135; *ibid.*, lib. IX, 13, 26-27, MPG 74, 139.

³⁹ S. Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Commentarium in Matthaeum* 26, 26, MPG 72, 451.

St. Leo the Great⁴⁰ (ca. 400–461 A.D.) identifies the morsel of dismissal with the Holy Eucharist.

In a letter written in 496 A.D. to Emperor Anastasius Augustus, Pope Anastasius II defends the indelible character of Sacred Orders. The Pontiff sets himself the task of proving that the flow of ministerial grace is not impaired by the sinful condition of a priest. In this connection, he cites the example of Judas Iscariot, who is said to have communicated sacrilegiously.⁴¹

St. Denis the Areopagite,⁴² who lived toward the end of the fifth and in the beginning of the sixth centuries, likewise subscribes to the positive opinion. It was the will of Christ Himself that Judas Iscariot, who was neither holy nor properly disposed, should abide with Him at the Last Supper and receive the first-fruits of the New Dispensation.

Theophylactus⁴³ (9th century A.D.) confines himself to saying that Judas did not receive. From this conclusion he draws out a practical counsel, namely, that the sinful are to be excluded from approaching the Eucharist.

C. SYRIAN WRITERS

Living in a land close to the scene of the Institution, the early representatives of the Syrian Church are important witnesses of the tradition they have inherited from the Apostles. The problem of Judas' presence or absence at the Last Supper occupied their minds to a great extent. The controversy made a forward step in the solution of this question.

The first written tradition is that of Aphraates,⁴⁴ the Persian

⁴⁰ S. Leo Magnus, *Sermones* LVIII (al. LVI), de Passione Domini 7, cap. 4, MPL 54, 333–35.

⁴¹ Cited by Cavallera, F., *Thesaurus Doctrinae Catholicae*, no. 992, p. 531.

⁴² S. Dionysius Areopagita, *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, III, iii, 1, MPG 3, 428. Cfr. also *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, Paraphrasis Pachymerae, III, iii, 1, MPG 3, 453–56.

⁴³ Theophylactus, *Enarratio in Evangelium Matthaei*, XXVI, 26, MPG 123, 444.

⁴⁴ Aphraates, *Demonstratio XII de Paschate*, 6, in *Patrologia Syriaca*, ed. R. Graffin, Vol. 1, pp. 515–18. The Latin translation of the original Syriac is as follows: "Manducavit igitur salvator noster cum discipulis suis pascha in nocte sacrata diei quarti decimi; et cum discipulis suis signum paschatis

sage, who lived in the middle of the fourth century. He declares that the Lord pronounced the institutional words only after Judas had left the Upper Room. Thereupon, Jesus distributed the Sacrament of the New Pasch to the remaining Eleven.

St. Ephraem⁴⁵ (died 373 A.D.), hermit and later head-master of the school at Nisibis, advances a very singular opinion, which influenced the subsequent writings of Syrian theologians. Although his thesis is that Judas neither ate of the Consecrated Bread nor drank of the Chalice of Life, nonetheless his explanation is peculiar and stands alone among all the expositions ever given anent this controversial question. The chief features are as follows. After Christ had pronounced the solemn words of consecration over the bread that instantly became His Body, Judas made an attempt to receive along with the rest of the Apostles. But when it was his turn to consume the Sacred Species, Jesus is said to have immersed the Bread in water, thus depriving it of its Consecration. Acknowledging his own unworthiness to receive

in veritate complevit. Postquam enim abiit Iudas ab eis, accepit panem, et benedixit, deditque discipulis suis, et dixit eis: 'Hoc est corpus meum; accipite et comedite ex eo omnes.' Etiam super vinum ita benedixit et dixit eis: 'Hic est sanguis meus, novum testamentum, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Similiter facite in meam commemorationem, quando congregabimini.' Porro nondum comprehensus fuerat Dominus." The text of St. James of Nisibis (S. Jacobus Nisibenus, Sermo 14, no. 4, in *Sancti Patris nostri Jacobi Episcopi Nisibeni Sermones*, edited by Nicolaus Antonellus, pp. 341-42) is identical with that of Aphraates. The Latin version of the original Armenian text reads as follows: "Salvator quidem noster comedit Pascha cum discipulis suis in decima quarta nocte illa, qua captus est, et sacramentum veri Paschatis praestitit discipulis. Nam postquam exivit ab eis Judas, accepit panem, benedixit, et dedit discipulis suis, dicens eis, 'Hoc est corpus meum.'" Gennadius erroneously attributed the works of Aphraates to St. James of Nisibis. The confusion arises from the fact that Aphraates assumed the name of James upon his elevation to the bishopric in the Persian Monastery of Mar Matthaëus. Wherefore, many identified Aphraates-James with St. James of Nisibis. The latter is said to have left no writings. The works of Aphraates were preserved for us in Armenian and wrongly attributed to St. James of Nisibis because of the similarity of names. So Baumstark, A. *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 31.

Dates on the *Syrian Fathers* are those according to W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*.

⁴⁵ S. Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo IV in Hebdomadam Sanctam*, 6, in Lamy,

the Bread of Life, Judas decided at once to depart. Without waiting to see the Consecrated Wine, he left immediately to join the mob that was to accuse the Son of the Living God of blasphemy and rebellion. This unparalleled opinion is rightly refuted by Denis Bar Salibi⁴⁶ in his comment on Mt. 26:29. Divinity united with the Body of the Word is beneath the accidents of bread. No extrinsic element, e.g. water, can deprive the Eucharist of its sacred character, for the essence of bread disappears when the words of Institution are pronounced. In order to make his point more clear, Denis Bar Salibi adduces the argument from the universal practice of the Church, the mixture of wine and water in the liturgy of the Mass.

Isho'dad of Merv⁴⁷ (ca. 850 A.D.) favors the absence of Judas for this reason, that the false disciple did not receive the Bread of Mysteries but common bread.

The Christian position of the Syrian Church on the Communion of Judas is excellently summarized by Denis Bar Salibi (before 1145 to 1171 A.D.).⁴⁸ Among the exponents of the posi-

T. J., *Sancti Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones*, Vol. 1, pp. 422-24. The original Syriac text in a Latin translation reads as follows: "Etenim quum Jesus panem undecim absque discrimine distribueret, accessit Judas ut acciperet sicut acceperant socii qui accesserant, sed Jesus intinxit panem in aquam, eum consecratione destituit et hac ratione buccellam Judae distinxit. Exinde apostolis notum fuit Judam esse qui Jesum traditurus erat. Intinxit igitur panem Jesus ut consecratio auferretur et dedit Judae. Judas non manducavit panem consecratum neque ex calice vitae bibit. Ex intincto pane cognovit se vita dignum non fuisse habitum, idcirco ira abreptus separavit se, nec bibit e calice sanguinis Jesu sed exivit ad crucifixo- res et ita calicem consecratum non vidit." The same idea is enshrined in poetic meter by St. Ephraem. See *Hymni Azymorum*, XIV, verses 13-18 and XVIII, verses 16-17 in Lamy, T. J., *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 604 and 624.

⁴⁶ Dionysius Bar Salibi, *Commentaria in Evangelia*, on Mt. 26:29 in CSCO, *Scriptores Syri*, Versio, Series Secunda, Vol. 99, p. 65.

⁴⁷ Gibson, M. D., edited and translated by, *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv* (Horae Semiticae, no. V), Vol. I, Translation, on Jn. 13:27, pp. 261-62.

⁴⁸ Dionysius Bar Salibi, *loc. cit.*: "Rursus, nonnulli quaerunt utrum Dominus noster Iudam participem mysteriorum fecerit necne. Mar Iohannes in homilia de Proditione et in homilia octogesima prima commentarii in Matthaum, Mar Severus in responso secundo, Mar Ephraem in commentario Evangelii, Iacobus sarugensis in homilia de Passione, Iacobus edessenus

tive view, Mar Joannes and Mar Severus (ca. 650 A.D.) assert the unworthy reception of Communion by Judas. Others follow the opinion of St. Ephraem with slight differences. Thus, St. James of Sarugh (451–521 A.D.) agrees entirely with the exegesis of St. Ephraem. David, son of Paul and friend of Moses Bar Cepha of Mosul, says that, although Christ did not immerse the Consecrated Bread in water, nevertheless He deprived it in some other secret manner of its sanctity, because the unworthiness and faithlessness of Judas were known before hand. James of Edessa (640–708 A.D.) tells us that the Eucharist was a morsel of dry bread of which all partook. Philoxenus of Mabbog (end of 5th and beginning of 6th centuries A.D.) is of the opposite opinion, for Satan, he writes, already entered into Judas. As a result of his opinion, the disciplinary measure of denying the Sacrament to those obsessed by the devil was widely diffused within the Church. In view of these contradictory opinions Denis Bar Salibi refuses to venture upon a conclusion of his own and professes uncertainty, “*Quis autem e doctoribus recte dicat, Deus tantum scit.*”

in canonibus quos statuit, et major pars aliorum dicunt Christum fecisse eum participem mysteriorum. Philoxenus mabbugensis in commentario in Matthaeum dicit: ‘Non fecit eum participem mysteriorum, quia Satanas in eum iam ingressus erat;’ et ex hac sententia Philoxeni in Ecclesia invaluit usus non dandi sacramentum iis qui a daemonio obsessi sunt. Mar Ephraem et Mar Iacobus sarugensis etsi dicunt Christum fecisse eum participem mysteriorum, tamen subiungunt quod intingendo panem in aqua privavit eum sanctitate, et aqua non potest auferre ab illo sanctitatem et habitationem Spiritus qui in illo est, nec unionem hypostasis Verbi quae unita est corpori. Si secundum opinionem eorum, etsi vera non est, panem, cum in aqua intinxit, privavit sanctitate, quomodo privavit (sanctitate) mixtionem vini et aquae in calice, quae mixtio est sanguis eius, cum nullo modo intinxerit illam? David monachus, filius Pauli, amicus Moysis Barcephae mossulensis, dixit: ‘Etsi Dominus noster corpus, quod dedit Iudae, in aqua non intinxit, tamen secreto abstulit ab eo sanctitatem, quia indignus erat; et notum est ex eo quod si profanus panem consecratum manducat, panem simplicem manducat, quia non manducat illum cum fide.’ Itaque quidam ex doctoribus dicunt (Christum) fecisse eum participem mysteriorum. Iacobus edessenus dicit: ‘Panem aridum, h.e. siccum, intingebant et manducabant, et Dominus noster de illo intinxit et dedit ei, sed fecit eum participem mysteriorum sicut socios eius.’ Quis autem e doctoribus dicat, Deus tantum scit.”

D. CHURCH DECREES

The Church has not committed herself through the medium of an official pronouncement regarding the solution of the Communion of Judas. However, in the early years of the Church's existence, Pope St. Julius I, who reigned gloriously from 337 to 352 A.D., communicated his observations in a letter to the Bishops of Egypt, where various abuses had crept in concerning the celebration of the Eucharist.⁴⁹ A certain schismatic sect, basing itself upon the Gospel account of the Last Supper, considered the immersion of the already consecrated Eucharist as a complement to the liturgy of the Mass and distributed the Sacred Species to the faithful under this form. The Pontiff also inveighs against another sect which is said to have preserved during the entire year a linen cloth saturated with the Precious Blood. During the Mass, a priest of this schismatic party was wont to wash a small portion thereof in water and offer it as the sacrifice in place of the usual bread and wine. Wherefore, the Pontiff endeavors to correct the false notions on the Eucharist, and writes that it is apparent from the Scriptures that the morsel mentioned by the Evangelists does not signify the Eucharist, but rather served to point out the traitor. No specific opinion is openly espoused by the Pope, for he is solely occupied with the task of presenting the true historical background of the Institution. However, from the tenor of the epistle it may be safely concluded that he favors the presence of Judas at the Last Supper, especially when he speaks of all the Apostles having received the Body and Blood from Christ Himself. The letter of Pope St. Julius I was later incorporated into the collection of Gratian,⁵⁰ St. Ives of Chartres⁵¹ and Buchardus of Worms.⁵² In 675 A.D., the third council

⁴⁹ The epistle of Pope St. Julius I to the bishops of Egypt is preserved for us in the canonical collection of Buchardus, *Decreta*, lib. V, 1 MPL 140, 751: "Nam intinctum panem aliis Christum praeuisse non legimus, excepto illi tantum discipulo, quem intincta buccella magistri proditorem ostenderet, non quae sacramenti hujus institutionem signaret."

⁵⁰ C. 7, D. II, de cons., in *Decretorum Gratiani emendatum et notationibus illustratum una cum glossis*.

⁵¹ S. Ivo, *Decretum*, pars II, cap. 11, MPL 161, 162.

⁵² Buchardus, *Decreta*, lib. V, 1, MPL 140, 751.

of Braga⁵³ reiterated the decision of the Pope by including it among its own resolutions.

E. MEDIEVAL THEOLOGIANS

Although Peter the Lombard,⁵⁴ father of the Scholastics, supports the affirmative position, other forerunners of the Middle Ages depart from the traditional view of the Church Fathers. Thus, from the account of St. John's Gospel, Rupert of Deutz⁵⁵ concludes that Judas did not partake of Holy Communion with the rest. Peter Comestor,⁵⁶ whose work entitled *Historia Scholastica* was widely adopted for use in schools and universities of this period, also favors the negative opinion, notwithstanding the apparently contradictory narrative of Luke. Pope Innocent III⁵⁷ recounts both sides of the question before formulating his own conclusion. At the very outset of his exposition, he acknowledged the difficulty which the account of Luke presents. He solves the difficulty by calling attention to the peculiar style which the third Evangelist employs in this as well as in other passages, and calls it the method of recapitulation, i.e., the main event under consideration is at once concluded, followed by additional details which in reality take place before it. Only on the basis of this principle can the narrative of Luke become intelligible. He, then, proceeds to produce arguments against Judas' reception, which in the main are taken from the Gospels of Matthew and John. The first, a moral proof, invokes Mt. 26:29. Since Judas perished according to the prophecies, he did not drink of this fruit of the vine either in this life or in that to come. Then, too, the moral turpitude of Judas (Jn. 13:10) became the stumbling block which

⁵³ Concilium Bracarense III, tit. I, in Bail, M.L., *Summa Conciliorum omnium*, Vol. II, p. 275.

⁵⁴ Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiarum Libri Quatuor*, IV, xi, 8, MPL 192, 864.

⁵⁵ Rupertus Tuitiensis, *Commentarium in Joannem*, XI, MPL 169, 687-88; *Quatuor Evangelistarum Commentarium*, 23, MPL 167, 1560.

⁵⁶ Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, in *Evangelia*, 151, MPL 198, 1618.

⁵⁷ Innocentius III Papa, *De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, IV, 13, MPL 217, 864-66.

disqualified him from participating in the Institution of the New Covenant. The second argument is said to rest on the more trustworthy narratives of Matthew (26:26-28) and John (13:30).

It is the opinion of most of the medieval theologians that Judas did receive Holy Communion and that he was ordained a priest. From the account of Luke they concluded that Judas remained for the Institution.

Heading the list is St. Thomas Aquinas⁵⁸ who presents four arguments. The first considers God. Christ was to serve as a model of justice. It, therefore, did not behoove the Son of God to exclude an occult sinner (Judas) from receiving along with the rest, especially when there was no accusation lodged against him nor evident proof of his wickedness at hand. Christ permitted this unworthy reception for the sole reason that in the future the prelates of the Church might not look with suspicion upon anyone who desires to approach the Sacrament. Charity should prevail and unfounded suspicion be removed. The sacrilege was permitted, lest Judas, being excited to more violent bursts of anger, might take occasion to add another sin.

The second argument is a reply to St. Hilary of Poitiers who alleged as proof the text of Mt. 26:29. St. Thomas Aquinas remarks that the proof is not conclusive, for the words of our Lord were addressed to the Eleven. The traitor had inwardly and wilfully separated himself from the company of the elect. It was not Christ Who excluded Judas from the heavenly banquet; it was his own perverse will.

In the third argument, the Angelic Doctor sets himself the task of explaining the passage recorded by Matthew (7:6), "Do not give to dogs what is holy." The distinction of the two natures in Christ here finds its real test and application. The moral turpitude of Judas was known to Christ *qua Deus*; it was unknown to Him *qua homo*. It follows, therefore, that Christ as man could not in justice repel Judas from approaching the Eucharistic Table without an accuser and evident proof. This procedure of Christ was to furnish an example to His future priests not to repel occult sinners from communicating if they so desired.

⁵⁸ S. Thomas Aq., *Summa Theologica*, 3, q. 81, art. 2.

Finally, St. Thomas takes into consideration the meaning of Jn. 13:26, which is generally employed by exponents of the opposite view as favoring the absence of Judas. The reply is prefaced by the statement that Judas did not receive Christ's Body in the dipped bread; he received mere bread. It served to specify the betrayer. Now, if the immersion of the bread signifies anything good, e.g., the sweetness of divine goodness, then, not undeservedly, did condemnation follow his own ingratitude for that same good. In virtue of that ingratitude, what was good became evil to him.

St. Bonaventure,⁵⁹ contemporary of the Angelic Doctor, subscribes to the same opinion and argumentation of St. Thomas. The same is also asserted by the Scotistic school.⁶⁰

Francis Suarez,⁶¹ following the *sententia communis* of the Scholastics, corroborates his thesis with arguments from tradition, St. Thomas and the Lucan order of narration.

In a similar strain, Dominic Soto⁶² concludes that the traditional opinion is to be embraced on the authority of weighty theologians as well as on the testimony of the Gospels.

The twofold argument: (1) the justice of God postulates the sheltering of an occult sinner, and (2) the Last Supper narrative of St. Luke, is repeated by practically all of the theologians of the Middle Ages. For the sake of brevity, the following may be cited: Algerus,⁶³ Bl. Ogerius,⁶⁴ Peter Abelard,⁶⁵ Bl. Rabanus

⁵⁹ S. Bonaventura, *Commentaria in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum*, lib. IV, dist. XI, pars II, dubium 8 in *Opera Omnia*, Vol. 4, pp. 266-67.

⁶⁰ De Montefortino, H., *Venerabilis Ioannis Duns Scoti Summa Theologica*, 2, 81, art. 2, Vol. 5, pp. 980-81.

⁶¹ Suarez, F., q. LXXIII, art. V, disp. XLI, sect. III in *Opera Omnia*, Vol. 20, pp. 754-55.

⁶² Soto, F., dist. 12, q. 2, art. 2, in *In Quartum Sententiarum*, Vol. 1, pp. 581-83.

⁶³ Algerus, *De Sacramentis Corporis et Sanguinis Dominici*, lib. I, cap. 21, MPL 180, 798.

⁶⁴ B. Ogerius, *Sermones de Verbis Domini in Coena*, sermo III, MPL 184, 893.

⁶⁵ Petrus Abaelardus, *Sermo XI de rebus gestis in diebus Passionis*, MPL 178, 464-66.

Maurus,⁶⁶ Hugh of St. Victor,⁶⁷ Venerable Bede⁶⁸ and Guibert.⁶⁹

F. RECENT BIBLICAL COMMENTATORS

The common tradition of many of the Fathers and medieval theologians cannot be demonstrated to rest upon a deduction from Scriptural sources. Such is the view of many commentators who consider their conclusions *probable* or *more probable*. However, there are not lacking weighty exegetes who hold fast to the traditional opinion.

John Lightfoot,⁷⁰ whose scholarly contributions are greatly respected by all, does not believe that Judas left the Cenacle before the Institution. In support of his view, he claims that it was contrary to the rules of Oriental etiquette for an individual to leave a fraternal union for the purpose of purchasing what was needful for a coming feast. Lightfoot's thesis is also sustained by the manner in which the Lucan account of the Last Supper is disposed. Alfred Edersheim,⁷¹ an equally able scholar of the Protestant communion, cannot agree with what J. Lightfoot points out, and quotes Talmudic sources to the effect that purchases of provisions necessary for the Passover were allowed by the Rabbis. In his opinion, Judas received. Ewald⁷² favors the presence of Judas at the Last Supper. Plummer⁷³ declares that Judas did partake of the Eucharist on condition that Luke can be trusted in placing this incident in its proper chronological posi-

⁶⁶ B. Rabanus Maurus, *De Clericorum Institutione*, I, 32, MPL 107, 322; *ibid.*, II, 36, MPL 107, 347.

⁶⁷ Hugo de S. Victore, *De Sacramentis*, II, iii, 4, MPL 176, 464.

⁶⁸ Beda Venerabilis, *In Lucae Evangelium Expositio*, VI, 22, MPL 92, 597.

⁶⁹ Ven. Guibertus Abbas, *Epistola de Buccella Judae data et de Veritate Dominici Corporis*, MPL 156, 527-30.

⁷⁰ Lightfoot, J., *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Euangelium Matthaei* (Opera Omnia), on Mt. 26:27, Vol. 2, pp. 381-82; *Dissertatio de Coena Christi Ultima* (Opera Omnia), Vol. 2, pp. 141-44.

⁷¹ Edersheim, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 506-09.

⁷² Ewald, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 421.

⁷³ Plummer, A., *Gospel according to St. Luke* (International Critical Commentary), p. 499.

tion. Elsewhere,⁷⁴ he points out that the accounts of Matthew, Mark and John are not conclusive, for the first two Evangelists make no mention of the departure while John does not relate the Institution. He sums up his conclusion after Westcott, "It is possible to hold that Judas went out between the partaking of the eucharistic bread and that of the eucharistic cup." That Judas left the assembly before Christ gave the Bread and Wine to His Apostles is adopted by Tasker⁷⁵ as a probable opinion. The same line of interpretation is given by Bruce.⁷⁶ Other Protestant exegetes remain completely silent on this controversial question.⁷⁷

Catholic exegetes are not agreed as to the presence or absence of Judas at the Last Supper. The majority, however, favor the negative view as more probable. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, Cardinal Caesar Baronius⁷⁸ held that Judas made a sacrilegious Communion, and does not agree with those who maintain that the first morsel of bread was the Consecrated Eucharist. A similar line of thought is developed by James Tirinus.⁷⁹ Calmet (early 18th century) taught that the Gospel notices clearly show that Judas was present at the Institution.⁸⁰ He thus reads Lk. 22:21. The parallel passage in Jn. 13:21-26 is said to supply us with the complementary details necessary for the complete understanding of what transpired after these words were spoken. Maldonatus,⁸¹ reading the selfsame passages em-

⁷⁴ Plummer, A., "Judas Iscariot," in *Dictionary of the Bible* (Hastings), Vol. 2, p. 797.

⁷⁵ Tasker, J. G., "Judas Iscariot," in *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (Hastings), Vol. 1, p. 910.

⁷⁶ Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-77.

⁷⁷ It suffices here to mention the collaborators of the *International Critical Commentary* series, such as W. C. Allen on St. Matthew, E. P. Gould on St. Mark and J. H. Bernard on St. John.

⁷⁸ Baronius, C., *Annales Ecclesiastici*, annus 34, no. 63, Vol. 1, pp. 126-27.

⁷⁹ Tirinus, J., *Commentarius in Sacram Scripturam*, on Mt. 26:26, p. 130.

⁸⁰ Calmet, A., *In Evangelium S. Matthaei* (*Commentarius Litteralis in Omnes Libros V. et N. Testamenti*), on Mt. 26:23, Vol. 8, pp. 152-53; *In Evangelium S. Joannis*, on Jn. 13:30, Vol. 8, p. 378.

⁸¹ Maldonatus, J., S.J., *Commentarii in Quatuor Evangelistas*, on Mt. 26, Vol. 2, pp. 275-76.

ployed by Calmet, arrives at the opposite conclusion. Hence, the phrases recorded in Lk. 22:20, *postquam cenavit*, and in Jn. 13:2, *cena facta*, can refer only to the conclusion of the Passover meal. Understood in this way, Luke is then explained in a sense that agrees with the accounts of Matthew and Mark which follow a more precise chronological arrangement.

Next in importance is the view of Cornelius a Lapide.⁸² He assures us that Judas made a sacrilegious Communion, and consequently was ordained a priest. For practical purposes it suffices here to cite the Scriptural passages which he employs in support of his thesis, since the same set of texts, in a lesser or greater degree, are invoked by all who favor the same opinion. They are: Mt. 26:21; Mk. 14:23; Lk. 22:24; Jn. 13:10ff; Jn. 13:12-30. He likewise adduces an *a priori* argument. For inasmuch as Christ *qua Deus* could have revealed to His disciples the hidden treachery of Judas, yet He was unwilling to do so, lest He should fail in giving an example of perfect charity. Such a course of action was intentionally chosen by Christ with this purpose in view, that a manifestation of His love might serve as a possible means of drawing Judas to repentance.

Among more recent biblical scholars, the negative view is widely adopted in preference to the *sententia communis*. Knabenbauer⁸³ believes that the solution of the question lies in the correct chronological interpretation of Jn. 13:30. Since the washing of the feet took place before the Institution, as the chronological succession of events in chapter 13 of St. John seems to warrant, it then follows that Judas did not communicate. To this he adds a moral argument. It seems strange, he continues, to admit that Christ should have allowed Satan (Jn. 13:27) to play the host to the King of Kings. Knabenbauer finally corroborates his conclusion by the manner in which the text of Tatian's *Diatessaron* is disposed; by the testimony of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, St. Aphraates, St. Hilary, St. Cyril of Alexandria, Rupert of Deutz, Peter Comestor, Pope Innocent III; and by the exegesis of Tur-

⁸² A. Lapide, Cornelius, *Commentarium in Matthaeum* (Commentaria in Sacram Scripturam cap. 26, Vol. 15, p. 552.

⁸³ Knabenbauer, J., S.J., *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), I, 2, pp. 446-48.

rianus, Salmeron, Barradius, and Lamy. Contrariwise, Vosté⁸⁴ places the washing of the feet after the Institution which would, therefore, postulate Judas' reception. Besides basing his view upon the authority of the Fathers and St. Thomas, Vosté approves the chronological order of events as contained in Luke's Gospel. Although the first two Gospels seem to imply that Judas did not receive with the rest, yet they are inconclusive; for they make no mention of the departure. On the other hand, St. Luke, who in the opinion of Vosté preserves a more accurate chronology, inserts the denunciation of the traitor after the distribution of the Consecrated Bread and Wine (Lk. 22:21). In the scheme of Luke (22:24), the contention among the Apostles follows, and this occasioned the washing of the feet (Jn. 13:2ff). Finally, Christ did not exclude Judas from the Eucharistic Banquet, for He "loved them to the end" (Jn. 13:1).

Harmonizing the divergent Gospel accounts on the Last Supper, Le Camus⁸⁵ concludes in favor of Judas' absence. Lagrange⁸⁶ prefers the chronological order of Matthew, Mark and John. That Luke runs counter, in this instance, to a strict chronological arrangement of details is the opinion of Prat,⁸⁷ Pirot,⁸⁸ Marchal⁸⁹ and Braun.⁹⁰ In the opinion of Buzy,⁹¹ the real and apparent sense of the Gospels clearly indicates that Judas left the Upper Room before the Consecration. The Gospel of St. John (chap 13), he continues, confirms this impression by additional data. It is stated in John that Jesus interrupted the Passover meal in order to wash the feet of all of the Apostles, after which He returned

⁸⁴ Vosté, J. M., O.P., *Studia Ioannea* (Opuscula Biblica Pontificii Collegii Angelici), pp. 242-49.

⁸⁵ Le Camus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 203-04.

⁸⁶ Lagrange, M. J., O.P., *L'Évangile de Jésus-Christ* (Études Bibliques), p. 508, note 2.

⁸⁷ Prat, F., S.J., *Jésus Christ, Sa Vie, Sa Doctrine, Son Oeuvre*, Vol. 2, pp. 282-83.

⁸⁸ Pirot, L., *op. cit.*, Vol. 9, p. 573.

⁸⁹ Marchal, L., *Évangile selon Saint Luc* (La Sainte Bible), Vol. 10, p. 258.

⁹⁰ Braun, F.-M., O.P., *Évangile selon Saint Jean* (La Sainte Bible), Vol. 10, p. 423.

⁹¹ Buzy, D., *op. cit.*, Vol. 9, pp. 349-50.

to the table and offered Judas the morsel of dismissal (Jn. 13:30). The Institution followed. Anent the theological argument advanced by St. Thomas Aquinas, Buzy remarks that it is indeed very impressive, but lacks proof from Scriptural sources. In the opinion of Fillion,⁹² it is very probable that Judas had already left the Cenacle when the Transubstantiation of the bread and wine took place. He arrives at this conclusion by combining the narratives of Matthew, Mark and John. Lavergne⁹³ hesitates to say "yes" categorically, but appears to incline toward the positive view on the supposition that Luke has preserved a true chronological order. Fouard⁹⁴ prefers the Lucan sequence of events and places the morsel of dismissal after the Institution.

Opinions for and against Judas' participation continue to multiply without end. In order to prevent repetition of the principal arguments that have already been proposed by others, it suffices here to enumerate a number of modern exegetes and their respective opinions. For MacRory,⁹⁵ Bernhard⁹⁶ and Lépiciér⁹⁷ the affirmative view appears extremely probable. Breen,⁹⁸ Dowd,⁹⁹ Callan,¹⁰⁰ Belser,¹⁰¹ Simón-Prado,¹⁰² Cornely,¹⁰³ Meinertz,¹⁰⁴

⁹² Fillion, L. C., S.S., "Judas assistait-il à l'institution de la s. Eucharistie?" in *Essais d'exégèse*, pp. 311-326; *The Life of Christ*, Vol. 3, pp. 393-94.

⁹³ Lavergne, P. C., O.P., *Évangile selon Saint Luc* (Études Bibliques), pp. 235-36.

⁹⁴ Fouard, C., *The Christ, the Son of God*, Vol. 2, pp. 227-32.

⁹⁵ MacRory, J., *The Gospel of St. John*, pp. 232-33.

⁹⁶ Bernhard, S., S.J., "War Judas der Verräter bei der Einsetzung der heiligen Eucharistie gegenwärtig?" in *ZKTh*, Vol. 35 (1911), pp. 30-65; "Nochmals über die Frage von der Gegenwart des Verräters bei der Einsetzung der heiligen Eucharistie," in *ZKTh*, Vol. 36 (1912), pp. 411-16.

⁹⁷ Lépiciér, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 392-93.

⁹⁸ Breen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 146-48.

⁹⁹ Dowd, W. A., S.J., *The Gospel Guide*, p. 272.

¹⁰⁰ Callan, C. J., O.P., *The Four Gospels*, pp. 173, 382, 496.

¹⁰¹ Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

¹⁰² Simón-Prado, *Novum Testamentum* (Praelectiones Biblicae ad usum Scholarum), Vol. 1, pp. 527-28.

¹⁰³ Cornely, R., S.J., *Historica et Critica Introductio in U. T. Libros Sacros* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), Vol. 3, p. 298.

¹⁰⁴ Meinertz, M., "Zur Frage nach der Anwesenheit des Verräters Judas bei der Einsetzung der Eucharistie," in *BZ*, Vol. 9 (1911), pp. 372-90.

Lesêtre,¹⁰⁵ Haugg,¹⁰⁶ Lamy,¹⁰⁷ and Maas¹⁰⁸ are of the contrary opinion, and believe this to be far more probable. To these may be added the compilers of Gospel harmonies. Hartdegen¹⁰⁹ and Thompson¹¹⁰ dispose the Gospel text in such a manner as to indicate that Judas Iscariot did not communicate; Steinmueller¹¹¹ holds the contrary.

G. CRITICISM

Having pointed out the different opinions concerning the participation of Judas at the Institution, we shall now endeavor to evaluate the evidence presented. If we summarize the foregoing statements, we see that there has not been a general agreement *in toto*, and that certain periods have been influenced by the testimony of a single writer whom the rest followed. Bernhard¹¹² has shown that the exponents of the negative opinion, until the thirteenth century, largely rested their conclusions upon the disposition of Tatian's *Diatessaron*. The positive view may be traced back to the authority of St. Augustine in the West and St. John Chrysostom in the East. Peter the Lombard has influenced and consequently attracted to his view all the scholastic exegetes of that age. This influence found expression in all the subsequent tracts on the Holy Eucharist. The opinion of Peter the Lombard united to that of many of the Church Fathers was known thereafter as the traditional or common opinion.¹¹³ The greatest development came from the pen of St. Thomas Aquinas. Serious doubt has been cast by the majority of the modern exegetes on this view.

¹⁰⁵ Lesêtre, H., "La Méthode Historique de S. Luc," in *R.B.*, Vol. 1 (1892), pp. 182-84.

¹⁰⁶ Haugg, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

¹⁰⁷ Lamy, B., *Commentarius in Harmoniam sive Concordiam Quatuor Evangelistarum*, lib. 5, cap. 19, p. 513.

¹⁰⁸ Maas, A. J., *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew*, p. 267.

¹⁰⁹ Hartdegen, S. J., O.F.M., *A Chronological Harmony of the Gospels*, nos. 277, 278, pp. 161-63.

¹¹⁰ Thompson, N., *A Harmony of the Gospels*, nos. 227, 228, pp. 165-67.

¹¹¹ Steinmueller, J. E., *A Gospel Harmony*, part III, nos. 6, 7, pp. 124-25.

¹¹² Bernhard, S., S. J., "War Judas der Verräter bei der Einsetzung der heiligen Eucharistie gegenwärtig?" in *ZKTh*, Vol. 35 (1911), pp. 31-40.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

Although the opinions are divided, a conclusion cannot be reached merely by counting authorities; it must be also shown to rest upon Scriptural deductions. Matthew and Mark present no difficulty, for they openly insinuate the absence of Judas when the saving mysteries were given to the rest of the Apostles. Although St. John omits the account of the Institution, it is now generally agreed to have taken place after Jn. 13:30. Now, if we possessed only these three accounts, that order of events would naturally become the accepted one. But on reading the Lucan account we obtain the opposite impression. The first three Evangelists make no definite statement concerning the departure; it is St. John who alone provides us with this information (13:30). Two points, therefore, must be considered. The first concerns the historical method of St. Luke; while the second has for its purpose the meaning of *μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι* (Lk. 22:20) and *πλήν* (Lk. 20:21). Despite the avowed accuracy of Luke's Gospel narrative, "after following up all things carefully from the very first, to write . . . an orderly account" (Lk. 1:3), the Evangelist nonetheless departs from chronological order in this as well as in a number of other passages. It should not be thought that Luke actually contradicts the other inspired Evangelists.¹¹⁴ In truth, the third Synoptist agrees with them, except that his sequence of details is not precise. The phrase *μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι* and the conjunctive particle *πλήν* have reference to the Paschal meal and not to the Eucharistic Supper. On the supposition that this inference is correct, we conclude that Luke states substantially the same as do the other Evangelists, despite the fact that his order is inverted. The differences of opinion apropos of Judas' Communion rest on the variant interpretation of these words. For the present, we shall be content to state our conclusion, namely, that the four Evangelists justify the thesis of Judas' absence at the Institution. It equally follows that he was not elevated to the dignity of the priesthood.

Matthew and John were eyewitnesses¹¹⁵ of the events that transpired at the Last Supper. Mark derived his information

¹¹⁴ Benedict XV, Encyclical Letter "Spiritus Paraclitus," in *E.B.*, nos. 463, 498.

¹¹⁵ Cfr. Lesêtre, H., *op. cit.*, p. 172.

from St. Peter, who was certainly present when the Eucharist was instituted. Luke was not an Apostle but a companion of Paul,¹¹⁶ who had not known Christ according to the flesh (Gal. 1:12). The last two were obliged to secure material for their writings from tradition and by the meticulous questioning of eye-witnesses. Plummer¹¹⁷ remarks that "Luke perhaps took the tradition which underlies all three Gospels as his chief guide, and inserted into it what he had gathered from other sources. In arranging the additional material he followed chronology, where he had any chronological clue; and where he had none (which perhaps was often the case), he placed similar incidents or sayings in juxtaposition."

The historical method of Luke in certain parts of his Gospel is not to arrange events in strict chronological succession, although his main purpose was as a general rule to set forth the incidents "in order" (Lk. 1:3). The term *κατεξῆς* is used by Luke four times elsewhere,¹¹⁸ the three occurrences in the sense of chronological, the last in the sense of a topographical order.¹¹⁹ According to Lagrange,¹²⁰ *κατεξῆς* indicates not only an ordering of things in a chronological sequence but also an ordering according to a logical and material point of view. When St. Luke is anxious to determine more accurately the transition from one event to another, he employs the phrase "on one of the days" (Lk. 5:17; 8:22; 20:1) or omits the expression altogether (Lk. 5:1; 7:36; 8:4; 9:1,18), without, however, disturbing the chronology.¹²¹ The more important passages in which chronological order is inverted are the following: the order of temptations in Lk. 4:3-13 compared with Mt. 4:3-11; the account of the imprisonment of St. John the Baptist in Lk. 3:19-20 compared with Mk. 6:17-29; the call of the four disciples in Lk. 5:1-11 compared with Mt.

¹¹⁶ The "we" sections in Acts 16:10-17; 20:5-21; 24:23; 27:28; Col. 4:14.

¹¹⁷ Plummer, A., *Gospel according to St. Luke* (International Critical Commentary), pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

¹¹⁸ Lk. 8:1; Acts 3:24; 11:4; 18:23.

¹¹⁹ Lesêtre, H., *op. cit.*, p. 172.

¹²⁰ Lagrange, M. J., O.P., *Évangile selon Saint Luc* (Études Bibliques), on Lk. 1:3, p. 6 and on Lk. 22-21, p. 547.

¹²¹ Steinmueller, J. E., *A Companion to Scripture Studies*, Vol. 3, pp. 99-100.

4:18-22 and Mk. 1:16-20; the parable of the mustard seed in Lk. 13:18-19 and that of Mk. 4:30-32; the true kinsmen of Jesus in Lk. 8:19-21 compared with Mt. 12:46-50 and Mk. 3:31-35; lament over Jerusalem in Lk. 13:34-35 compared with Mt. 23:37-39; the prediction of the traitor in Lk. 22:21-23 which follows the Last Supper, whereas in Mk. 14:18-21, Mt. 26:21-25 and Jn. 13:21-30 it precedes; the denial of Peter in Lk. 22:56-62 which precedes the trial before the Sanhedrin, whereas in Mk. 14:66-72 it is placed after the trial.¹²² Cadbury¹²³ avers that "the motive in at least two of these cases is clearly the desire to conclude at once a subject when it has been introduced." Although the chronology of Luke, with reference to the main and general order of events, is far more superior to that of the other Evangelists, nevertheless he fails oftentimes in presenting the precise succession of details. Wherefore, an eyewitness is to be preferred when there is a question of minute particulars.

That two distinct meals were celebrated on the eve of Christ's betrayal is evidenced from the Gospel records. To indicate this fact, Matthew and Mark make the twofold statement: *καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν* (Mt. 26:21) and *ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν* (Mt. 26:26); *καὶ ἐσθιόντων* (Mk. 14:18) and *καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν* (Mk. 14:22).¹²⁴ Luke and Paul, however, employ a different mode of expression, *μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι* (Lk. 22:20; 1 Cor. 11:25). The terms *δεῖπνον* and *δειπνεῖν* outside of 22:20 are employed by St. Luke six times,¹²⁵ and invariably have reference to an evening meal or banquet. Now, does the *μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι* refer to the Paschal meal or to the Eucharistic repast? The occurrence of an identical phrase in 1 Cor. 11:25 makes it clear from the context that St. Paul had in mind the

¹²² For changes in the order of sections and changes of order within the section of St. Luke's Gospel, see Cadbury, H. J., *The Style and Literary Method of Luke*, pp. 76-79. Cfr. also Lesêtre, H., *op. cit.*, pp. 175-84.

¹²³ Cadbury, H. J., *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

¹²⁴ Maldonatus, J., *op. cit.*, on Mt. 26, Vol. 2, pp. 275-76; Le Camus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 215, note 1; Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, Part 1, p. 75.

¹²⁵ Lk. 14:12; 14:16,17,24; 17:8; 20:46. The same term is used of an evening repast also in other passages of the N.T., e.g. Mt. 23:6; Mk. 6:21; 12:39; Jn. 12:2; 13:2,4; 21:20; 1 Cor. 11:20,21,25; Apoc. 3:20; 19:9; 19:7.

legal Jewish meal which preceded the Institution,¹²⁶ although the entire Eucharistic feast is referred to by Paul in 1 Cor. 11:20 as *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον*.¹²⁷ It is true that he relates the Consecration of the bread from vv. 23 to 24 of 1 Cor. In the following verse (25), he remarks that the same procedure holds for the Consecration of the wine. The Consecration of the chalice, therefore, was performed "in like manner" after the legal Passover supper, just like the Consecration of the bread. Now, if the same procedure is to be accepted for the Consecration of the wine, then there is good reason to believe that the phrase *μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι* properly belongs at the beginning of v. 23. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand to what *μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι* could possibly have reference.¹²⁸ Returning to Lk. 22:20, similarity of expression suggests a similar line of interpretation.¹²⁹ St. Luke here has not preserved for us a strict chronological order, for he groups the incidents recorded in 22:14–23 according to ideas.¹³⁰ The peculiar purpose of his narrative was to connect the Institution directly with the legal Passover supper as a type of the Eucharist.¹³¹ From verse 14 to 16, St. Luke describes the beginning of the Jewish liturgical celebration. The words of the Institution follow in vv. 17 to 20. Finally, in vv. 21–23 the topic of conversation centers about the traitor. Now, *καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι* of 22:20 intimates that the consecration of the wine took place after the legal Paschal meal.¹³² Had not the denunciation of Judas been contained in the following verse (21), no difficulty would present itself. The im-

¹²⁶ Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

¹²⁷ "The Lord's Supper,' without doubt, here includes both the Agape and the Eucharistic celebration, for vv. 21, 33 show that it includes the Agape, and v. 23ff. that it includes the celebration of the Blessed Eucharist." MacRory, J., *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, pp. 168–69.

¹²⁸ MacRory, J., *op. cit.*, p. 176.

¹²⁹ That St. Luke is independent of St. Paul in the usage of *μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι*, see Porporato, F. X., S.J., "De Lucana Pericopa 22, 19b–20," in *V.D.*, Vol. 13 (1933), pp. 114–22.

¹³⁰ Lesêtre, H., *op. cit.*, pp. 181–82.

¹³¹ Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

¹³² The Vulgate correctly renders *μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι* by *postquam cenavit*, which according to the context of St. Paul and St. Luke would mean that He had supped with the disciples after the legal meal, as St. John (13:2)

pression the Evangelist creates upon the reader of his narrative appears to be that the exposure followed upon the Institution, and that the traitor therefore communicated sacrilegiously. But the conjunctive particle *πλήν* at the beginning of 22:21, as such, does not indicate that an interval of time had elapsed between the preceding and the subsequent verse. It means simply a transition to what follows, an expansion or change of subject.¹³³ Bernhard,¹³⁴ who espouses the positive view, considers *πλήν* of Lk. 22:21 as the deciding factor for his position. For St. Augustine,¹³⁵ this text alone clearly (*evidentissime*) proves the thesis that the exposure occurred after the Eucharist. Similarly, Bardenhewer¹³⁶ and Holzmeister¹³⁷ hold that the particle *πλήν* of Luke definitely supposes the presence of the betrayer at the Institution. In view of such weighty opposition, can we arrive at a satisfactory solution? What is the actual meaning of this particle? *Πλήν*, with the genitive, is used either as a preposition, meaning, *except*, *besides*; or as a conjunction, meaning *moreover*, *in the meantime*, *in addition to*.¹³⁸ The LXX uses *πλήν* to render 23 different Hebrew terms.¹³⁹ St. Luke appears to have a special predilection for *πλήν*, for he employs it in his Gospel twice as often as the other three

does by *δέλπνου γινομένου*. Cfr. Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 261. MacRory, in his comment on 1 Cor. 11:25, suggests that "it would be better to read 'coenatum est'. . . as the Missal does."—*The Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, p. 176.

¹³³ Plummer, A., *Gospel according to St. Luke* (International Critical Commentary), p. 499; Knabenbauer, J., S.J., *Evangelium secundum Lucam* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), p. 583; Knabenbauer, J., S.J., *Evangelium secundum Joannem* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), p. 428; Lesêtre, H., *op. cit.*, p. 184.

¹³⁴ Bernhard, in *ZKTh*, Vol. 35 (1911), p. 53 and in *ZKTh*, Vol. 36 (1912), p. 415.

¹³⁵ S. Augustinus, *In Joannis Evangelium*, tract. LXII, 3, MPL 35, 1802.

¹³⁶ Bardenhewer, O., in *BZ*, Vol. 2 (1904), p. 197.

¹³⁷ Holzmeister, U., S.J., "Die Passionsliteratur der letzten 6 Jahre (1909–1914)," in *ZKTh*, Vol. 39 (1915), p. 325; and *ZKTh*, Vol. 43 (1919), p. 498.

¹³⁸ Bauer, W., *op. cit.*, p. 1072, s.v. *πλήν*.

¹³⁹ Hatch, E., and Redpath, H. A., *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, Vol. 2, p. 1145, s.v. *πλήν*.

Evangelists combined.¹⁴⁰ With St. Luke *πλήν* oftentimes interrupts the preceding thought in order to introduce a new subject, e.g. 6:24, 35; 10:11,14,20; 11:41; 12:31; 18:8, 19:27. It is not certain whether *πλήν* in this passage proceeds from St. Luke or whether he means to place it in the mouth of Jesus Himself. From the context, it appears probable that the Evangelist himself wishes to take full responsibility for the expression. Meinertz¹⁴¹ suggests that, had the particle been a component part of the discourse of Jesus, the Evangelist would have inserted *εἶπεν* in order to agree with *λέγων* of 22:19,20. A comparison between 22:22 with Mt. 26:21 and Mk. 14:21 is also interesting.¹⁴² All three Evangelists record the woeful words of Jesus spoken to Judas. Matthew and Mark have simply *οὐαί*; Luke places *πλήν* before it. The view that it is St. Luke's word, and not Christ's, is indicated; and *πλήν οὐαί*, therefore, is not a component part of the discourse of Jesus, but proceeds from Luke himself. Haugg¹⁴³ conjectures that in this passage *πλήν* assumes a meaning equivalent to *ἐγένετο δὲ καί*. A. T. Robertson,¹⁴⁴ without having specific reference to this text, remarks that in Luke's Gospel the particle *πλήν* is always an adversative conjunction, *however, but, but yet*. For a better understanding of Luke's narrative on the Last Supper, Knabenbauer¹⁴⁵ has suggested that 22:20 and 22:21 should be united. In virtue of the order deduced from the other three Evangelists and Luke's peculiar style, 22:21-23 rightly belongs between vv. 16 and 17.¹⁴⁶ The third synoptist, therefore, concludes at once his main subject, the Institution of the Holy Eucharist, in order to elaborate upon other incidental details in subsequent verses. The verse (22:21) is a violent break in the sequence of

¹⁴⁰ Bruder, C. H., *Concordantiae Omnium Vocum Novi Testamenti Graeci*, pp. 712-13, s.v. *πλήν*. St. Matthew uses the particle five times; St. Mark once; St. Luke fifteen times; St. John once.

¹⁴¹ Meinertz, M., *op. cit.*, p. 379.

¹⁴² Haugg, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁴³ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁴⁴ Robertson, A. T., *op. cit.*, p. 1187.

¹⁴⁵ Knabenbauer, *Evangelium secundum Lucam* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), p. 583.

¹⁴⁶ *Loc. cit.*; *Evangelium secundum Joannem* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), p. 428.

thought. Such a literary method is labelled by Rupert of Deutz¹⁴⁷ as *anticipation*. Pope Innocent III¹⁴⁸ and Peter Comestor¹⁴⁹ call it *recapitulation*. Recent biblical scholars maintain that St. Luke here disposes the events according to a logical and subjective rather than a real order; or that he inverts the order when he deems it necessary for his purpose, by grouping together incidents according to topic. So Fillion,¹⁵⁰ Buzy,¹⁵¹ Lesêtre,¹⁵² Lagrange,¹⁵³ Plummer,¹⁵⁴ Cadbury¹⁵⁵ and Haugg.¹⁵⁶ Prat,¹⁵⁷

¹⁴⁷ Rupertus Tuitiensis, *Commentarius in Joannem*, lib. XI, MPL 169, 686: "Quod cum caeteri evangelistae apertissime dicant, solus Lucas aliter dixisse visus est, quia videlicet verba, quae in priori coena Dominus de traditore suo dicit, idem Lucas sic praeposteravit, ut priorem paschae coenam, et sequentem Dominici corporis et sanguinis consecrationem narrando conjungeret, et tunc demum verba, quae in utroque convivio dicta sunt, continuaret." Although St. Augustine adopts the positive view on the Communion of Judas, yet in his treatment on the twofold mention of the chalice in Luke's Gospel, he proceeds to say: "Hinc igitur incipiamus secundum Matthaeum: 'Coenantibus autem eis, accepit Jesus panem, et benedixit, ac fregit, deditque discipulis, et ait: Accipite et comedite; hoc est corpus meum.' Hae et Marcus Lucasque commemorant. Quod enim Lucas de calice bis commemoravit, prius antequam panem daret, deinde postea quam panem dedit; illud quod superius dixit, praeoccupavit ut solet; illud vero quod ordine suo posuit, non commemoraverat superius; utrumque autem conjunctum hanc sententiam facit, quae et illorum est."—S. Augustinus, *De consensu Evangelistarum*, lib. III, cap. 1, 2, MPL 34, 1157. See also Cadbury, H. J., *op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹⁴⁸ Innocentius III Papa, *De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, IV, 13, MPL 217, 865: "Quod autem Lucas post calicem commemorate traditorem, per recapitulationem potest intelligi."

¹⁴⁹ Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, in *Evangelia*, 151, MPL 198, 1618: "Quod autem ante traditionem Eucharistiae diximus Judas exisse, videmur contradicere Lucae, qui post calicem traditorem commemorat, sed forte Lucas de traditione recapitulet."

¹⁵⁰ Fillion, L. C., S.S., *The Life of Christ*, Vol. 3, p. 394.

¹⁵¹ Buzy, *op. cit.*, Vol. 9, p. 349.

¹⁵² Lesêtre, H., *op. cit.*, p. 179.

¹⁵³ Lagrange, M. J., O.P., *Évangile selon Saint Luc* (Études Bibliques), on Lk. 22:21, p. 547.

¹⁵⁴ Plummer, A., *Gospel according to St. Luke* (International Critical Commentary), p. 499.

¹⁵⁵ Cadbury, H. J., *op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹⁵⁶ Haugg, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–37.

¹⁵⁷ Prat, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 282–83.

Dowd,¹⁵⁸ Callan¹⁵⁹ and Le Camus¹⁶⁰ claim that Luke has not preserved for us the exact order of events. The chronological order of the third Synoptist should not be considered absolute but rather relative, so that his arrangement in certain pericopes should give way to a better order deduced from the other Gospels.¹⁶¹ Father Breen writes: "Luke considered the Last Supper as one great event whose essential features he was to record; but he reveals in no wise that he is strictly following the order in which these features succeeded each other. It is probable that it did not come into his mind to determine whether Judas was present at the Holy Eucharist. He therefore records what was done at the Last Supper without adverting to the question which we raise here."¹⁶²

A reconstructed chronology of the first Holy Thursday suggests the following order of events:

Mt.	Mk.	Lk.	Jn.	
26:17-19	14:12-16	7:13		Christ sends Peter and John in the morning to make preparations for the Passover.
26:20	14:17	22:14	13:1-2	In the evening He and the Apostles recline at table.
26:29	14:25	22:15-18		After the first cup
		22:24		the strife for precedence takes place.
		22:25-30		Recommendation of humility and mutual love.
			13:1-20	Washing of the feet.
			13:10, 18	General intimation of the betrayal.
26:21	14:18	22:21	13:21	Designation of the betrayer as one of the Twelve.
26:22	14:19		13:21-23	Enquiry among the Apostles.

¹⁵⁸ Dowd, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

¹⁵⁹ Callan, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

¹⁶⁰ Le Camus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 204, note.

¹⁶¹ Steinmueller, J. E., *A Companion to Scripture Studies*, Vol. 3, pp. 99-100.

¹⁶² Breen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 147.

Mt.	Mk.	Lk.	Jn.	
26:23	14:20		13:24-26a	Christ manifests to John the identity of the betrayer.
26:24	14:21	22:22-23		Denunciation of Judas.
26:25				Final exposure of Judas.
			13:26b	Morsel of dismissal.
			13:27	Entrance of Satan.
			13:28-29	Dismay of the Apostles.
			13:30	Departure of Judas.
26:26-28	14:22-24	22:19-20	1 Cor. 11:23-25	Institution of the Holy Eucharist.

Ingenious and brilliant as the arguments of the positive view are, they do not commend themselves on the assumption of what was shown above. The historical method of St. Luke is inaccurate as regards the precise sequence of details. Granted that the third Synoptist excels the other inspired writers of the Gospels in his general chronological arrangement of events, nevertheless he sometimes departs from chronological sequence. Anent the question that is now being discussed, Luke anticipates the conclusion (The Institution of the Holy Eucharist), and then continues to relate the events that actually occurred prior to the Institution. The original Greek readings *μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι* and *πλὴν* point to such a conclusion. Without this solution, it would seem difficult to understand that Jesus Who knew the hearts of all men (Acts 1:24; Jn. 16:30) should have permitted an unworthy Apostle to approach the Holy Eucharist and profane the First Mass with a sacrilege. Holy things are to be given only to the deserving, "Do not give to dogs what is holy, neither throw your pearls before swine" (Mt. 7:6). The statement "They all drank of it" (Mk. 14:23) is inconclusive, for this universal proposition may well indicate, according to the disposition of Mark's Gospel, the body of the remaining Eleven.

It may be suggested that *πλὴν* in this passage is a particular literary device of Luke. In view of the fact that writers in ancient times were not blessed with the various helps of composition with which we are today, certain modes of expressions had to be in-

vented to serve the duty of punctuation, question marks and exclamation points. Similarly, the use of parentheses and footnotes was unknown to them. In order to have their ideas conveyed properly to a distant audience, these writers were forced by circumstances to avail themselves of certain literary devices to produce the effect required of the context. Thus, for example, the oft-repeated construction in the Bible, "and he said, saying," properly introduces a quotation, so that *saying* stands for quotation marks; the interjection "Behold" is an exclamation point—however strange it may seem to us—placed before the main body of a sentence. Anent the passage in Lk. 22:21, *πλήν* introduces a parentheses or a footnote. Since it was the main purpose of Luke to describe the Eucharist as the antitype of the ancient Passover, he did not busy himself with secondary details lest he should disturb his continuous narrative. Although he must have had the departure of Judas in mind while writing, yet this event did not fit his proposed scheme. He, therefore, decided to place it after his description of the Institution, the main event of that day. On that account, the particle *πλήν* became the most suitable literary device at his command, and he intended to say that what follows is an additional remark which should have been inserted a few verses above, between 22:18 and 22:19. The most probable meaning of this Greek reading is: Yet know ye this, that after the Passover supper Christ said, Behold, the hand of him who betrays me is with me on the table.

Judas was manifestly pointed out by Christ in the presence of all the Apostles when he was handed the morsel of dismissal. But the Apostles failed to comprehend the full import of this action, for some thought that he was charged to make the necessary purchases for the following day or to distribute alms to the poor. Thus, Christ had attained His purpose by revealing to Judas alone that He knew of his intentions, and at the same time concealing the sin from the body of the remaining Apostles. Justice, therefore, was not violated as St. Thomas Aquinas informs us, although he concluded that Judas received because an occult sinner is not to be revealed publicly without an accuser and evident proof.

CHAPTER IX

EXECUTION OF THE BETRAYAL

WHITHER Judas betook himself after leaving the Upper Room is not stated in the Gospels. Doubtless, he approached the members of the Sanhedrin and informed them of his formal break with the Master Who had exposed the plot. In the light of this incident, he insisted that the present moment was most favorable for the execution of their contract. The consequence of this renewed meeting was that hurried preparations were made for the arrest of Jesus. It was not the intention of the Jewish authorities to take Him before the Feast (Mt. 26:5; Mk. 14:2). No definite time, however, was set for the arrest when the perfidious agreement had first been made between Judas and "the chief priests and the captains" (Lk. 22:4) a few days before. The Sanhedrin probably intended to apprehend Jesus at some later date. Informed of this quite unexpected decision of Judas, the Sanhedrin, although reluctant and probably after a long debate, was now compelled by circumstances to reconsider its original plan. They began to fear that, unless immediate action were taken, an invaluable ally would be lost to them. Judas, no longer a member of the Twelve, would not provide them in the future with the necessary information concerning the movements of Jesus. Another reason suggested itself to them: Jesus might depart from Jerusalem on the following day. Then, their efforts would necessarily have to be renewed. The thought of a riot could well be dismissed, for they always had the Temple guard and the Roman soldiers at their disposal to suppress such disturbances during festivals. Lest precious time be consumed in finding another willing ally, the Sanhedrin yielded to his proposal. Judas was designated as the guide (Acts 1:16) of the nocturnal expedition by the Sanhedrin who supplied him with an armed escort (ὄχλος

Mt. 26:47).¹ The escort appears to have been composed of the following:²

- (1) A Roman cohort (Jn. 18:3; comp. Mk. 15:16; Acts 21:31);
- (2) Attendants from the chief priests and Pharisees (Jn. 18:3); the tribune and attendants of the Jews (Jn. 18:12) who were equipped with lanterns, torches, weapons (Jn. 18:3), swords and clubs (Mt. 26:47). Among them was Malchus, servant of the high priest (Jn. 18:10). The command was entrusted to the captains of the Temple (Lk. 22:52);
- (3) chief priests, elders (Lk. 22:52) and Scribes (Mk. 14:43).

Judas was well aware of the fact that his Master intended to retire to the Mount of Olives (Lk 21:37; Jn. 18:2). According to all indications in the Gospels, the night was cold (Jn. 18:18) and dark (Lk. 22:53) for they needed lanterns and torches (Jn. 18:3) to light up the wooded parts of the garden.

The strength of the escort was impressive, as appears from the precautions taken by the high priests who were determined to arrest Jesus with absolute safety. An earlier (Jn. 7:45-49) attempt to take Him prisoner failed, for the attendants who were dispatched by the high council reported that they were unable to draw near the Powerful One. Seeing that they were obliged to deal not only with Jesus but also with the Apostles and probably with the pilgrims who crowded every available recess in the vicinity of Jerusalem, the chief priests, therefore, set out with an armed escort. The pilgrims, friends of Jesus, were expected to offer the greatest resistance.³

¹ Belser, *op. cit.*, pp. 342-43.

² Haugg, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

³ Josephus informs us that Jerusalem was usually overcrowded at the times of the feast of the unleavened bread.—*Jewish War*, II, xiv, 3, ed. Loeb, no. 280, p. 432. A pilgrim was prohibited by the Law from receding a distance of more than a Sabbath day's journey from the place where the Passover was eaten (Ex. 16:29; see also Ruth 1:15; Acts 1:12). Hence, a number of pilgrims, with whom the high priests might possibly have to contend, found their way within the enclosure of the Mount of Olives.

The drama of the arrest opens with an exceedingly sorrowful scene. Upon hearing the carefully measured steps of the motley mob that was dispatched to arrest Him, the Divine Victim aroused His Apostles from their sleep, saying, "Rise, let us go. Behold, he who betrays me is at hand" (Mt. 26:46). Meanwhile, the Redeemer had completely recovered from the agonizing struggle which took place in His soul (Mt. 26:37; Mk. 14:33), and advanced to meet His executioners (Jn. 18:4) or "sinners" as He characteristically prefers to call them (Mt. 26:45).

A prearranged signal was necessary, especially at night, to point Him out to those who were in charge of the arrest. The Temple guard and the staff of servants knew Jesus well, but the Roman cohort would recognize Him only with difficulty. The presence of Judas, therefore, was advantageous both to the high priests, who scarcely would have attempted a swift and secret arrest, and to the Roman cohort who were unable to identify the Man.⁴

"Now His betrayer had given (ἔδωκεν) them a sign, saying, 'Whomever I kiss, that is he; lay hold of him'" (Mt. 26:48). Mark (14:44) reports this same detail, "Now his betrayer had given (δεδώκει) them a sign, saying, 'Whomever I kiss, that is he; lay hold of him, and lead him safely (ἀσφαλῶς) away.'" A difficulty arises out of Matthew's and Mark's text. The former employs the aorist ἔδωκεν, the latter the pluperfect δεδώκει to describe the moment when the signal was arranged. If we followed Matthew's reading, the agreement to give a signal was reached in close proximity to Jesus; whilst the Marcan expression assures us that it was prearranged some time before, either in Jerusalem or on the road to Gethsemani. Mark's reading is more probable for the following reasons. By discussing the matter with the band within hearing distance of the garden, Judas would have certainly betrayed himself. In such a case, the Apostles might have saved their Master by flight, or even have called for the assistance of the pilgrims who were close at hand. The escort was large, and giving directions to them in a low voice would have been useless. It is, therefore, preferable to understand the Matthaean ἔδωκεν in the sense of a pluperfect, which then would bring it in perfect

⁴ Haugg, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

agreement with Mark's account.⁵ Finally, dreading the possibility of his Master's escape, Judas' guilty and apprehensive mind devised this cowardly request: "lay hold of him, and lead him safely (*ἀσφαλῶς*) away." Belser⁶ renders *ἀσφαλῶς* in the sense of *with great caution*, as quietly as possible, avoiding a possible clash with the Apostles. There arose the apprehension in Judas' mind that Jesus might either hide Himself, as He had once done previously (Jn. 8:59), or He might free Himself by some miraculous power (Mt. 17:1; Lk. 4:30; Jn. 6:19; 7:30; 7:44; 8:20; 18:6). *Under safe cover* is the translation preferred by Haugg.⁷ At any rate, Judas had a natural interest in the matter, eager to bring the plot to a successful end.

Judas now approaches Jesus and greets Him, saying, "Hail, Rabbi!" (Mt. 26:49).⁸ The title, "my master" was the customary one of a pupil toward his teacher.⁹ While greeting Him, Judas still feigns love and friendship and kisses Him with simulated affection. This is indicated by the use of the compound verb *κατεφίλησεν* (Mt. 26:49 and Mk. 14:45), "he kissed him effusively."¹⁰ J. Lightfoot¹¹ shows that, according to the Talmud, the kiss was the usual sign of homage and honor among teacher and disciple. The Rabbis also distinguish between "licita oscula" and "oscula falsitatis." Indeed, the kiss of Judas was the kiss of falsity. Extremely convenient, it served his purpose, for the multitude needed the surest but yet the most harmless sign of recognition. We already find direct evidence in the O.T. of the kiss as a signal of treachery. Joab is said to have selected this expression of friendship to murder Amasa (2 Kgs. 20:9).

Why did Judas choose the kiss as the sign of recognition? For, inasmuch as the kiss was the customary Oriental salutation

⁵ Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

⁷ Haugg, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁸ Many MSS on Mk. 14:45 repeat "Rabbi." This would tend to indicate the deliberate mockery of Judas.

⁹ Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 995.

¹⁰ Kleist, J. A., S.J., *The Gospel of Saint Mark*, p. 228.

¹¹ Lightfoot, J., *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Euangelium Matthaei* (Opera Omnia), on Mt. 26:49, Vol. 2, p. 382; *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Euangelium Lucae* (Opera Omnia), on Lk. 22:47, Vol. 2, p. 562.

upon meeting a friend, this sign, consequently, would not create suspicion on the part of his former friends (Apostles), who might be led to think that their fellow member had quietly returned to the group. He had just recently succeeded in concealing his hypocrisy after his departure from the Cenacle, so even now, he employed the same medium of deception by seemingly paying his respects to his Master.

Jesus, however, submitted to the kiss and again offered Judas an implicit invitation to repentance. To this solemn appeal to his conscience Judas could not return a reply. "Friend, for what purpose hast thou come?" The Greek text reads, *ἑταῖρε ἐφ' ὃ πάρεi* (Mt. 26:50a). Mark and John omit this incident, while Luke (22:48) records the following, "Judas, dost thou betray the Son of Man with a kiss?" Biblical exegetes dispute the translation of this passage. The problem is briefly as follows. The translation of the Vulgate ("Amice, ad quid venisti?") supposes the interrogative pronoun ("ad quid") whereas in the original Greek the relative pronoun (ἐφ' ὃ) appears. Deissmann¹² approves the Vulgate reading, and believes that the use of ὃ as an interrogative had already crept into the popular language at the time of Christ. He bases his view upon contemporaneous inscriptions found on goblets. Belser¹³ objects seriously against the Vulgate translation in that ὃ instead of τί in a direct question would be an indication of decadent Greek. St. John Chrysostom¹⁴ and Euthymius¹⁵ support the variant reading of ἐφ' ᾧ. But it does not solve the difficulty since the pronoun still is relative. Two explanations, however, are possible. The first would regard the phrase as an elliptical expression, properly an aposiopesis or a figure of speech by which a speaker comes to an abrupt halt. Euthymius, Maldonatus¹⁶ and

¹² Deissmann, A., "Friend, wherefore art thou come?" in *ExpT*, Vol. 33 (1922), pp. 491-93.

¹³ Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

¹⁴ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Matthaeum*, hom. LXXXIII (al. LXXXIV), 2, MPG 58, 748.

¹⁵ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentarius in Matthaeum*, XXVI, 50, MPG 129, 690.

¹⁶ Maldonatus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 339, on Mt. 26:50.

Spiegelberg¹⁷ support this view. For Belser,¹⁸ the expression is equally an incomplete sentence and supplies the ellipse by rendering the clause thus: "Friend, dost thou, forsooth, think I do not know for what thou art here?" Thinking that the clause requires emendation, Blass¹⁹ believed that a word was dropped out because of a homoioteleuton. He proposes the following conjecture: "ἐταῖρε must be a corruption either of αἶρε or ἐταῖρε αἶρε: 'take what thou art come to fetch' (D has ἐταῖρε after πάρει)." Secondly, it is more probable that the clause is an exclamation of surprise, some exclamatory particle before it being understood. Breen,²⁰ Fillion,²¹ Weiss²² and Haugg²³ have suggested this meaning, and rightly so, for it preserves at the same time the form of a relative pronoun intended by the Greek text. Taken as an interrogative pronoun, ὃ does not fit well into the context, since there is no reply given to the question. Christ in His divine prescience knew of Judas' arrival (Jn. 18:4), and to ask for the reason for his presence would become entirely superfluous on the part of the Master. We may suppose that the Redeemer, upon seeing Judas' cold-blooded determination to betray Him, was moved with deep emotion to such an extent that He halted abruptly in His speech, omitting several words to permit Him to recover His serenity. Perhaps, the full statement of Jesus was: "Friend, behold, I know for what thou hast come! Judas, dost thou betray the Son of Man with a kiss?" This reconstructed statement brings it in perfect harmony with Luke's direct question (Lk. 22:48), which is a natural sequence to Mt. 26:50a. There is also evidence in support of this meaning in the peculiar use of the Master's greeting. The word ἐταῖρε occurs in Mt. 22:13, where a dissatisfied laborer in the vineyard is addressed with the same salutation. Hence, the Divine Victim evidently wishes to emphasize the utter shamelessness of Judas who dared to manifest marks of

¹⁷ Spiegelberg, W., "Der Sinn von ἐφ' ὃ πάρει in Mt. 26:50," in *ZNtW*, Vol. 28 (1929), pp. 341-43.

¹⁸ Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

¹⁹ Blass, F., *op. cit.*, par. 50, 5, p. 176.

²⁰ Breen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 375.

²¹ Fillion, L. C., S.S., *The Life of Christ*, Vol. 3, p. 453.

²² Weiss, J., *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments*, Vol. 1, p. 392.

²³ Haugg, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

love, when in reality he was the vilest of ingrates.²⁴ At best, the exclamation of Jesus is a final admonition to Judas to reflect upon the monstrous character of the crime he has now committed.²⁵

The kiss of betrayal was enacted at the entrance of the garden (Jn. 18:4, "Jesus . . . went forth."). According to Lk. 22:47b, Judas was ahead of the crowd, perhaps for the express purpose of bestowing without detection that detestable and mocking embrace; for he is said to have kissed Him *effusively*. The hostile multitude remained at a distance. When Jesus was sufficiently pointed out, the armed escort prepared to surround Him. But the Divine Victim "knowing all that was to come upon him" (Jn. 18:4) turned to them and to Judas, who from this time on mingled with the multitude (Jn. 18:5b), saying, "Whom do you seek?" They replied, "Jesus of Nazareth" (Jn. 18:5). At the declaration, "I am he," they made no move to seize Him, but awed by the majesty of God "they drew back and fell to the ground" (Jn. 18:6).²⁶ They dared not seize Him, unless permission was granted to them (comp. Jn. 19:11). This miracle displays the Savior's complete freedom in regard to His executioners, and at the same time serves as a proof that they were powerless to take Him prisoner if He were unwilling (Jn. 19:11).

Did Judas fall to the ground together with the rest? Belser,²⁷ expounding the miraculous nature of the event, is of the opinion that Judas was excluded from the punishment which was meted out solely to His actual executioners. Accordingly, the intention of Jesus was to punish solely the fierce multitude, who dared to approach Him with implements of death. But since Judas is thought to have had no further intention beyond that of pointing Him out (Mt. 26:28; Mk. 14:44), he consequently did not fall directly under this punishment. Furthermore, he was not armed but acted merely as a guide (Acts 1:16). Belser further states

²⁴ Origenes, *In Matthaeum Commentariorum Series*, 99, MPG 13, 1749.

²⁵ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Matthaeum*, hom. LXXXIII (al. LXXXIV), 2, MPG 58, 748.

²⁶ Compare Is. 49:2; Acts 5:5; 2 Thess. 2:8 where the word of God has the power of destroying enemies.

²⁷ Belser, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-50.

that the subject of the verbs in Jn. 18:6 has in view the cohort and the attendants mentioned previously (Jn. 18:3). But this exegesis seems doubtful. St. John, known for his historical fidelity, indicates plainly that Judas fell to the ground upon hearing the words of Jesus, "I am he." By the peculiar position of the Evangelist's statement regarding Judas standing by (18:5), the question must be decided in favor of a universal prostration. The very mention of the traitor's name in this connection would have been otherwise entirely superfluous—for it is plain from the context that the betrayer was with them—unless we postulate an intentional insertion by St. John.²⁸ This supplementary remark placed between the words of Jesus and the miraculous event seeks to emphasize the point that even Judas did not escape the far-reaching effects of the divine power of Christ Who wished at this last moment to prove to him that He was truly the Son of God. It was also a punishment for their faithlessness, and at the same time it was a final appeal to the impenitent Judas. Probably, the false disciple would never again meet the Master face to face before Jesus' redemptive but Judas' own ignominious death. To the objection of Belser that Christ did not intend to punish Judas because he was not armed, it may be replied briefly that the false disciple coöperated in His arrest to a very marked degree. According to the very words of Christ to Pilate, "he who betrayed me to thee has the greater sin" (Jn. 19:11).

When Judas' terms of contract had been satisfied, his services and Roman soldiers "came forward and set hands on Jesus and ended; and, his presence no longer necessary, the Jewish servants took him" (Mt. 26:50b).

²⁸ Haugg, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

CHAPTER X

DESPAIR AND DEATH OF JUDAS

A. DESPAIR OF JUDAS

The betrayal having been accomplished, Heaven's vengeance reached Judas for his utter ingratitude and obduracy, and prepared for him a horrible end, befitting his crime. St. Matthew alone relates the despair of the betrayer of the Lord (Mt. 27:3-10).

Completely unaware that matters would reach such extreme proportions (condemnation of Jesus to death), Judas wrongly supposed that his Master would liberate Himself from the power of the Sanhedrin. His mind refused to consider the possibility of Jesus being led before the Roman tribunal, for the deliverance of a Jew into the power of the Romans was unprecedented in Jewish history.¹ Judas looked from a distance—probably this was his last glimpse of the Master Whom he had served—and observed Jesus' trial in the palace of the high priest. When he saw that the august Prisoner was finally condemned to death and led to Pontius Pilate, he realized the full magnitude of his crime. We must not overlook the psychological phenomenon of tardy regret which great criminals display after committing their crimes, even though they have deliberately planned them and carried them out. "Perfecto demum scelere magnitudo eius intellecta est," says Tacitus² when writing of the matricide of Nero.

¹ Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 398. The power of capital punishment could be said to have not belonged to the Sanhedrin ever since Judea came under the rule of Roman procurators. Cfr. Schürer, E., *op. cit.*, Division II, Vol. 1, pp. 187-88. This is not disproven by the putting to death of St. Stephen (Acts 6:12) and St. James the Less (Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* II, 23, ed. Loeb, p. 168). The killing of these two men was not a legal act, but mob violence.

² Tacitus, *Annals*, XIV, 10, ed. Loeb, p. 122.

Seized with violent remorse, it is said of him by Matthew (27:3) that he repented (*μεταμεληθείς*), and resolved to return the money he had received. The expression of Matthew that Judas repented is not to be expounded in the sense of a moral change, but in the sense of a change of thought or feeling. He had wished he had never committed the crime. This difference is well expressed by the use of the verb *μεταμέλομαι* which signifies a natural regret or sorrow for previous actions inadvertently done,³ or for actions whose extreme consequences are not fully foreseen. The technical expression in the N.T. to indicate true internal sorrow for sin and a turning from them unto God is *μετανοέω*.⁴ This state of internal change was entirely lacking in Judas Iscariot, for true repentance would have produced in him something quite different from despair and refuge in suicide.⁵

He hastened to the high priests in the Temple enclosure in order to rehabilitate himself by an open confession: "I have sinned in betraying innocent blood," i.e., an innocent man. It was not a testimony of the Messianic dignity or the divine Sonship of Jesus, for Judas had already lost the faith in Capharnaum (Jn. 6:64,90). Ever since the obduracy of his heart increased, he wilfully resisted the operation of grace despite the frequent appeals made to him by Christ. Satan entered into him, which accounts largely for his despair. But his open confession is significant. Just as in Jn. 7:46 the favorable remarks about Jesus influenced the attendants of the Pharisees to abandon a plot to seize Him, so even now Judas probably heard with his own ears many disparaging remarks about himself from the lips of the spectators that surrounded him after his betrayal. In order to assuage his guilty conscience and to expunge the stigma of a venal betrayer, he hastened to make this confession, for in his constant associations with Jesus he had never discovered anything that would have convicted Him of the crimes of which He was accused. There came back to him the recollection of the

³ Comp. 2. Cor. 7:8; Mt. 21:29-32.

⁴ See the excellent study by A. H. Dirksen, C.P.P.S., *The New Testament Concept of Metanoia*, especially p. 217.

⁵ Lépicier, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 74, note 2; Buzy, *op. cit.*, on Mt. 27:3, Vol. 9, p. 363.

sinless righteousness of the Master Whom he had wronged. This forced him to acknowledge Christ's innocence publicly.⁶

With mocking repulse, the chief priests and the elders discarded the ill-fated wretch and laid on him the burden of the guilt. They persuaded themselves that they were free from it; and yet they were in all respects like Judas—culpable of the crime.

He repented, and the money he received became hateful. Thereupon, "he flung the pieces of silver into the temple," for the money had been the occasion of his ruin. The *εἰς τὸν ναόν* (Mt. 27:5) in this passage causes a real difficulty. Into the *ναόν* the priests alone were allowed to enter (Lk. 1:9,21). 'Ο *ναός* included both the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies (Mt. 27:51 and parallels). It is never used like *ιερόν* for the whole Temple.⁷ If we understand that the money was thrown in either through the opened veil in the front of the Holy Place, or from the court of Israel into the court of the priests, then the use of *ρίψας εἰς* and not *ρίψας ἐν* points to this. Hence, it is better to understand that ὁ *ναός* in this passage, as also in Jn. 2:19–20, is employed somewhat loosely, and that the scene occurred in some outer hall.⁸ This view is also supported by the translation of the LXX which renders the porch (*ûlām*) of the Temple by *ναός* (2 Par. 15:8; 29:7,17).

After Judas had disposed of the money, a new trait of hypocritical casuistry displayed itself in the chief priests. As it was blood-money, they would not place it in the treasury of the Temple, lest they should defile it. Because of the open confession, the money was no longer considered as an offering made to the Temple (comp. Mk. 7:11), but the price of crime. The Mosaic Law expressly forbade the putting into the Temple treasury any money received as a reward for slaying an innocent person, "Cursed be he that taketh gifts to slay an innocent person"

⁶ Belser, *op. cit.*, pp. 402–04.

⁷ For the occurrences of the term *ιερόν* in the N.T., see Bruder, C. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 426–27.

⁸ Knabenbauer, J., S.J., *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), on Mt. 27:5, I, 2, p. 496; Fillion, L. C., S.S., *The Life of Christ*, Vol. 3, p. 485; Buzy, *op. cit.*, on Mt. 27:3, Vol. 9, p. 364.

(Deut. 27:25). They scrupled over putting tainted shekels into the Temple treasury; yet they scrupled not over their own sins, in that they had unjustly condemned the Innocent!⁹

The high council diverted the thirty pieces of silver to the purchase of a place of burial for pilgrims, τοῖς ξένοις (Mt. 27:7). How is the term οἱ ξένοι to be understood? Does it apply equally to Jews as well as to Gentiles? According to the standpoint of the priests, the tomb of a Gentile was *ipso facto* an abomination. Thus, the poor unfortunate who happened to die in the vicinity of Jerusalem was refused the religious protection usually accorded to one of their own nation. There existed no reasonable motive to show deep concern in regard to the burial of a wandering Gentile whose fate was irremediable, placed outside the sphere of religion.¹⁰ The duty of interring the Gentile did not belong to the priests but to the Roman officials who, in virtue of their civil authority, were obliged to provide a suitable place of burial for them.¹¹ The presence, however, of a Gentile cemetery near Jerusalem was merely tolerated as an unavoidable evil. In this passage, οἱ ξένοι can only mean the Jews and the Jewish proselytes. Owing to the multitude of Jews from other parts of Palestine and the Diaspora dwelling in and visiting Jerusalem, there may have been urgent need for a larger place of burial and a difficulty of procuring land for such a purpose. Doubtless, many who made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem died during the festivities. It may be assumed that many of the Jews born in foreign countries returned to the Holy City in their old age, and becoming poor, could not acquire a burial place of their own. In the light of these circumstances, the purchase of a separate field for Jews was necessary and was made with the money Judas had renounced.¹²

St. Matthew thoroughly determines this field by means of τὸν

⁹ Calmet, A., *In Evangelium S. Matthaei* (Commentarius Litteralis in Omnes Libros V. et N. Testamenti), on Mt. 27:6, Vol. 8, p. 158. The Corbona is the sacred treasury of the Temple.—Josephus, *Jewish War*, II, ix, 4, ed. Loeb, no. 175, p. 390.

¹⁰ Lagrange, M. J., O.P., *Évangile selon Saint Matthieu* (Études Bibliques), on Mt. 27:7, pp. 514–15.

¹¹ Buzy, *op. cit.*, on Mt. 27:7, Vol. 9, p. 364.

¹² Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως (Mt. 27:7). The article intimates that there was a definite spot which bore this name, either because it belonged to a potter, or because potter's clay abounded there.¹³ The field was called the "Field of Blood," equivalent to the Aramaic Haceldama,¹⁴ purchased with the price of Innocent Blood. The name was not given to this cemetery by the early Christians,¹⁵ but by the residents of Jerusalem, as may be inferred from Acts 1:19.

According to Mt. 27:7, the high council bought (ἡγόρασαν) potter's field; according to Acts 1:19, Judas should have acquired the possession of it himself (ἐκτήσατο). In comparing these two divergent accounts, we observe that Peter appears in the rôle of an orator before the assembly gathered to decide the question of choosing a successor to Judas. The purchase is referred to Judas himself, because it occurred in consequence of his horrible deed of treachery and was made with his money. Matthew and Luke, therefore, are in perfect harmony in presenting the fact that the piece of ground was purchased with the price of Judas' treason.¹⁶

B. DEATH OF JUDAS

Reduced to despair by the mocking reply of the priests and the disparaging remarks of the spectators, Judas Iscariot hanged himself. Such is the message of Matthew (27:5), both sad and tragic in its brevity. "It is an evidence that even the Redemption did not banish sin from the world."¹⁷

Prat¹⁸ thinks that it is possible to admit that Judas survived the fall a few hours or, at most, a few days after his attempt at suicide, for neither does the text of Matthew necessarily imply death

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 406.

¹⁴ Legendre, A., "Haceldama," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Vigouroux), Vol. 3, pp. 386-88.

¹⁵ Belser, *op. cit.*, pp. 407-08.

¹⁶ Breen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 446-47; Fillion, L. C., S.S., *The Life of Christ*, Vol. 3, p. 486; Buzy, *op. cit.*, on Mt. 27:7, Vol. 9, p. 364; Lightfoot, J., *Horae Talmudicae et Hebraicae in Acta Apostolorum* (Opera Omnia), on Acts 1:19, Vol. 2, p. 690.

¹⁷ Breen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 448.

¹⁸ Prat, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 553.

by strangulation nor the text of Luke (Acts 1:18) suppose immediate death. However, it is probable that this incident occurred in the course of the forenoon of the day on which Christ was crucified. The significant passage of Matthew (27:1), "Now when morning (*πρωῆς δὲ γενομένης*) came, etc.," points to this. The Evangelist not only groups the second hearing before the Sanhedrin (Mt. 27:1), the despair and death of Judas (Mt. 27:3-10) and the appearance of Jesus before Pilate (Mt. 27:2) in a chronological order, but also in rapid succession as the events of the same morning.¹⁹

Haceldama is identified by Luke (Acts 1:19) with the place of the traitor's death, a fact of which there is no mention in Matthew (27:8). The latter Evangelist crystallizes the original place-name in Greek, *ἀγρὸς αἵματος*; while Luke renders the Aramaic word by *χωρίον αἵματος*. The Greek reading appears under various forms: *ἀκελδαμάχ* (B), *ἀχελδαμάχ* (S A), *ἀκελδαιμάχ* and *ἀκελδαμά* (C).²⁰ Evidently, the Greek transcription represents the Aramaic *ḥāqēl dēmā'*, field of blood. Bernard,²¹ following the interpretation of Klostermann, derives the expression from *ḥāqēl dēmak*, field of dormition, inasmuch as the place was actually a cemetery or the place of Judas' burial. According to a preferable etymology of Dalman²² and Hommel,²³ the final aspirate *chi* indicates that the word is indeclinable, as *Ἰωσὴχ* (Lk. 3:26) represents the Hebrew *yosē* and *Σειράχ* represents *sērā'*.

According to Mt. 27:8, the field thenceforth was called *ἀγρὸς αἵματος*, an allusion being made to the blood of Christ shed on account of Judas' treachery; while in Luke's history (Acts 1:18-19) the blood which gave its name to the field was that of

¹⁹ Haugg, *op. cit.*, p. 167; Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

²⁰ Dalman, G., *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, note 3, p. 202; Vosté, I.-M., O.P., *De Passione et Morte Iesu Christi*, (Studia Theologiae Biblicae Novi Testamenti), p. 69; Ropes, J. H., *The Text of the Acts*, in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, ed. by Jackson-Lake, Part I, Vol. 3, pp. 8-9.

²¹ Bernard, J. H., "Akeldama," in *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (Hastings), Vol. 1, p. 41.

²² Dalman, G. *loc. cit.*

²³ Hommel, E., "The Forms *Σειραχ* and *Ἀκελδαμαχ* as Transcriptions of *sērā* and *ḥāqēldēmā'*," in *ExpT*, Vol. 25 (1913-14), p. 285.

Judas by which it was defiled. Vosté²⁴ and Schulz²⁵ solve the difficulty by harmonizing the two accounts on the basis of the example furnished previously (Mt. 27:7 and Acts 1:18). When we have two divergent traditions offered of a place-name, it is probable that the Evangelists understood it of the same place and viewed the explanation from a different standpoint.

Haceldama is the traditional site of the traitor's death and is still known as Hakk ed-Dumm. It is situated on the south bank of the Valley of Hinnon, outside the gates of Jerusalem, and faces the Cedron Valley to the east.²⁶ Early pilgrims to Palestine have distinguished Haceldama from the scene of Judas' death. Thus, Antoninus Martyr (about 570 A.D.)²⁷ places "the field which was bought with the price of blood of the Lord, which is called Acheldamac" near Siloam; but places the "fig-tree upon which Judas hanged himself, of which the stem is protected by stones" on the N.E. side of Jerusalem.²⁸ Another pilgrim visiting Palestine about the year 670 A.D. writes: "those going out of the city through it (Gate of David), leaving the Gate and Mount Sion next their left hand, come to a stone bridge, directed from some distance in a straight line across the valley to the south, raised on arches, close to the middle of which, on the west side, is the spot where Judas of Iscarioth, driven by despair, hanged himself by a rope. There is still shown here to this day a fig-tree of large size, from the top of which, as is said, Judas hung in a halter."²⁹ The tree of Judas was not always described with sufficient accuracy. At one time, it was pointed out to be within the city of Jerusalem

²⁴ Vosté, *loc. cit.*

²⁵ Schulz, A., "Neutestamentliches zur Inspirationslehre, 2. Der Ursprung des Namens Hakeldama," in *BZ*, Vol. 7 (1909), pp. 153-54.

²⁶ Legendre, A., "Haceldama," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Vigouroux), Vol. 3, col. 386-88; Vosté, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

²⁷ *The Holy Places Visited By Antoninus Martyr*, translated by A. Stewart and annotated by C. W. Wilson, par. 26, in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, Vol. 2, p. 22.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, par. 17, pp. 14-15.

²⁹ *The Pilgrimage of Arculfus in the Holy Land*, translated and annotated by J. R. MacPherson, par. 18, in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, Vol. 3, p. 19.

and again it was located on the Hill of Evil Counsel.³⁰ Sir John Maundeville placed it near the pillar of Absalom.³¹

The scene of the suicide of Judas had been formerly known as the "potter's field" and appears to be identified with the "potter's house" of Jer. 18:2-2 and 19:1-15, which was in the valley of the son of Hinnon—the spot in earlier times of Moloch worship and subsequently defiled as a place of burial (Jer. 7:30-32; 3 Kgs. 23:10). Tradition which fixes Haceldama upon this spot is said to reach back to the time of St. Jerome.³² Eusebius, however, places it on the north of Mount Sion; St. Jerome on the South.³³ Denis Bar Salib³⁴ informs us that Judas Iscariot committed suicide in Beth Quenaya, but no attempt is made by him to locate or to describe the place. Munro³⁵ draws a distinction between the "Field of Blood" of Matthew and the Haceldama of Luke. The former was a field used to bury strangers in; the latter was a farm or an estate bought by Judas himself with his stolen money, and on which he expected to retire. To this estate he is said to have gone in remorse and despair, and there he committed the fatal act. To the modern tourist, Haceldama is pointed out as west of the convent of St. Onuphrius.³⁶ All that remains of Haceldama today is a ruined building.³⁷

There are many divergent accounts of the death of Judas, each differing from the other. The Evangelists give a simple and unadorned version of the tragedy; others again make the traitor die in a manner commensurate with his crime. The tendency to ex-

³⁰ *The Holy Places Visited by Antoninus Martyr*, in *op. cit.*, note 1, p. 15.

³¹ Wright, T., (editor), *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 175.

³² Robinson, E., *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Vol. 1, p. 354.

³³ Klostermann, E., *Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen*, in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, Vol. 3, 1, Eusebius Werke, pp. 38-39. The difference of opinion may be due to a scribal error.

³⁴ Dionysius Bar Salibi, *Commentaria in Evangelia*, on Mt. 27:5, CSCO, Vol. 99, p. 82.

³⁵ Munro, J. I., "The Death of Judas," in *ExpT*, Vol. 24 (1913), p. 236.

³⁶ Meistermann, B., O.F.M., *New Guide to the Holy Land*, p. 187.

³⁷ Schick, B. C., "Aceldama," in *PEFQSt for 1892*, pp. 285-86: "It is now a partly ruined building, 78 feet long outside, and 57 feet wide, erected over rock-cut caves and a deep trench, situated on a steep slope of the rocky hill. At the southern part the roof consists of rock, and is level with the hillside, and the northern part, being about 20 feet lower, is walled up as

aggerate and to add gruesome details is seen in the popular legends that have sprung into existence. Apart from the other accounts that preserve the memory of his death, three representative selections have been chosen, since the narratives that appear later on are either additions or elaborations of the same. Thus, Matthew (27:5) writes that Judas "went away and hanged himself with a halter." In Luke's history (Acts 1:18), it is said that he fell headlong downwards. Papias (ca. 125 A.D.) wrote that Judas was crushed by a wagon; according to this assumption, suicide is precluded. Notwithstanding the antiquity of these three principal traditions, the divergent accounts are worthy of note. For practical purposes the texts are reproduced here in their entirety, so that we may examine the points of divergence at their face value.

Mt. 27:5 καὶ ρίψας τὰ ἀργύρια εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀνεχώρησεν, καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγγατο.

Acts 1:18 καὶ πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησεν μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ.

Papias in his Fourth Book of the Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord:

Apollinarius. Judas did not die by hanging, but survived, having been cut down before he was suffocated to

a rectangular oblong building, roofed with a vault, just over the deep rock-hewn trench, which is 63 feet long and 21 feet wide, and from the present surface of the ground to the surface of the accumulation of bones, etc., 25 feet deep, or from the top of the roof to the accumulation, 44 feet deep. The depth of the accumulation is not known, but I conjecture it to be from 10 to 15 feet, perhaps even more, so that the whole height would be on an average of about 60 feet. The trench is cut into the rock about 30 feet deep, or the half of the whole height, a gigantic grave of the usual form! In order to make it still larger, caves already existing to the south of it, some natural, others artificial, as rock-cut tombs, were added, and their bottoms made deeper, and parts of their roofs broken out, leaving piers at the corners, and especially one in the middle, bearing the roof of rocks, and also one side of the vault. This addition added to the large tomb a space about 60 feet long, 28 feet wide, and from 20-35 feet high. That these were originally, especially on one side, rock-cut tombs, can be seen by the six loculi, and it is nearly certain that there were on the other side natural caves, in which the potters may have carried on their trade in our Lord's time."

death. The Acts of the Apostles show this, "falling head-long he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out." Papias, a disciple of John, narrates this more clearly in the fourth book of the Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord as follows: Judas walked about in this world a sad example of impiety; his flesh swollen (*πρησθείς*) to such an extent that, where a wagon can pass with ease, he was not able to do so, in fact, not even the mass of his head. They say that his eyelids swelled to such an extent that he could not see the light at all. So far had his eyes been sunken from the surface that they could not be visible even by the optical instruments of a physician. His pudenda, exuding a stench, became so deformed that they appeared unpleasant and enlarged, over which worms mixed with decayed blood flowing from the entire body covered the other parts of the flesh. After suffering many pains and torments he died, it is said, on his own property. Those who lived near that road say that the property was deserted and left desolate until this day. No one even to this day passes the place without stopping up his nose with his hands. Such was the opinion spread about the country concerning his body.³⁸

The simplest of these three accounts is that of Matthew who states that he hanged himself with a halter. *Ἀπήγγατο* (Greek

³⁸ The original Greek text is to be found in Cramer, J. A., *Catena in Acta SS. Apostolorum*, pp. 12-13. In another version of the same story, equally attributed to Papias and preserved by Apollinarius, we are informed that the cause of his death was the crushing by a cart; while in the version mentioned above the cart is used as a term of comparison to indicate by way of example the extent of the swelling. Cramer, J. A., *Catena in Evangelia S. Matthaei et S. Marci*, on Mt. 27, p. 231.

A great deal of controversy has centered around the authenticity of these two catenae. J. Rendel Harris ("Did Judas Really Commit Suicide?" in *AmJTh*, Vol. 4, (1900), p. 501) is in favor of the catena on the Acts, assigning the reason for his claim, in that Denis Bar Salibi in his own commentary on the Acts derives the information about the "worms" from Papias. Kirsopp Lake (Note IV, "The Death of Judas," in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, ed. by Jackson-Lake, Part I, Vol. 5, p. 25) is of the contrary opinion and declares that the catena on Matthew is very likely to be more correct. The picture in the other catena is an interpolation by a later hand, anxious to sketch a horrible death for Judas. For a reconstruction of the fragment of Papias, see Hilgenfeld, A., "Papias von Hieropolis," in *ZWTh*, Vol. 18, (1875), p. 262ff.

Middle) is a reflexive, an action performed for the advantage or disadvantage of the agent. The conjecture submitted by J. Lightfoot,³⁹ which would suppose ἀπήγγατο to assume here the function of a Passive, "strangulatus est," must be abandoned in view of the occurrence of this form elsewhere. In 2 Kgs. 17:23, we read of Achitophel who, seeing that his counsel was disregarded, returned to his home, settled his last affairs and hanged himself (ἀπήγγατο). The Vulgate renders this word by "suspendio interiit," which evidently connotes a reflexive action. But in Mt. 27:5 the Vulgate employs a different choice of words to express the same idea, "laqueo se suspendit." The Greek recension relative to Tob. 3:10 reads: ταῦτα ἀκούσασα ἐλνπήθη σφόδρα ὥστε ἀπάγξασθαι. The term, ἀπάγγω, therefore, means an action whose certain and foreseen effect is the death of the agent by strangulation; it is intentionally willed or aimed at as an end in itself.⁴⁰

The problem arises from the apparently divergent accounts of Acts 1:18 and that of Papias. The *crux interpretum* are the words *πρηνής* and *πρησθείς*. According to Stephanus,⁴¹ *πρηνής* means "bent forward, headlong," Latin "pronus" in opposition to "supinus." In Wis. 4:19, the difference between the death of the just and the wicked is described. The latter shall fall without honor, become a reproach among the dead forever and God shall burst them prostrate (*πρηνείς*) and silent. In 3 Mach. 6:23, we read that the king began to weep when he heard the cry of the armed host that was trampled under foot by the wild beasts and saw them all prostrate (*πρηνείς*) in death. On the other hand, *πρησθείς* derived from *πρήθω* signifies "to set on fire"; in the Middle, "to blow up, to become swollen."⁴² It is used in this sense in Num. 5:21,22,27 in connection with the ordeal of jealousy which the Mosaic Law prescribed in cases of suspicion aroused by pregnancy. Among the curses that are said to fall upon a woman accused of adultery by

³⁹ Lightfoot, J., *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Acta Apostolorum* (Opera Omnia), on Acts 1:18, Vol. 2, p. 690.

⁴⁰ Suicerus, J. C., *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, Vol. 1, pp. 404-409, s.v. ἀπάγγω.

⁴¹ Stephanus, H., *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, Vol. 5, p. 7959, s.v. *πρηνής*.

⁴² Thayer, J. H., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, p. 509, s.v. *πιμπράω*; in extra-biblical accounts *πρηνής* in the sense of "headlong" is found in Josephus, *Jewish War*, VI, I, 6, ed. Loeb, no. 64, p. 394.

her husband are the swelling of her womb (τὴν κοιλίαν σου πεπρησμένην) and the rotting of her thigh. It is not certain whether a particular disease is intended here by the "swelling of the womb." Gray⁴³ declares that from the time of Josephus it was thought to be dropsy. Robinson⁴⁴ suggests that originally the water which the accused woman was obliged to drink in order to show proof of her innocence may have been regarded as affecting the offspring. The woman, therefore, with "a swelling womb" gave birth to a stillborn child. In the event that she was found innocent, the curse turned into a blessing. The "swelling of the womb" meant that she would subsequently conceive and bring forth a child in due time. In the N.T., the term is employed in the Passive. When St. Paul landed safely on the island of Malta, the natives thought that the sting he received from a reptile would produce a swelling of his hand and be the cause of his death (Acts 28:6).

1. Harmonization of Mt. 27:5

Although the natural sense of ἀπήγαγο is self-strangulation, yet it does not exclude strangulation by others. According to J. Lightfoot,⁴⁵ Judas was strangled by the devil who entered into his heart at the Last Supper. After the money was returned to the priests, the devil is said to have brought him to a high place, strangled and hurled the betrayer down a precipice where his bowels gushed out. In this manner, the devil is said to have liberated himself. To corroborate his contention, J. Lightfoot has recourse to the words of St. Peter in Acts 1:18ff; to the opprobrious epithet that is contained in the name Iscariot; and to O.T.

⁴³ Gray, G. B., *Numbers* (International Critical Commentary), on Num. 5:21, p. 53.

⁴⁴ Cited by G. B. Gray, *op. cit.* on Num. 5:11-13, p. 48. The term used of "the swelling" is šabah, a root known in Semitic languages, but appears to give no suitable meaning in this section of the O.T. In Is. 29:7 it has the meaning "to make war." The sense "to swell" is employed in this section only and is said to rest on the use in New Hebrew.—Gray, G. B., *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁴⁵ Lightfoot, J., *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Euangelium Matthaei* (Opera Omnia), on Mt. 27:5, Vol. 2, p. 384.

evidence⁴⁶ where in Tob. 3:8 Asmodeus is said to have strangled (hōnēq) the seven husbands of Sara. For the latter account J. Lightfoot quotes from the Hebrew text of Paul Fagius.⁴⁷ Erasmus, Grotius, Hammondus and Gronovius⁴⁸ claim that the term may equally signify death caused by internal misery, by remorse of conscience or moral anguish in expiation for sin. A sudden spasm of suffocation followed. This, in turn, produced despair which caused him to leap down from a high precipice, resulting in the condition described in Acts 1:18. Calmet⁴⁹ rejects this interpretation on the grounds that such is not the apparent meaning of the words used in Matthew and Acts. Besides, it does violence to the text. The Jews did not believe that a self-imposed death would expiate one's own sins.⁵⁰ Rather, it was an act of impiety towards the Creator.⁵¹ Haugg⁵² quotes from the Talmud to the effect that a suicide was not to be mourned publicly.

Apollinarius of Hierapolis, whose extract from Papias is quoted above, maintains that the ἀπῆγξατο of Matthew did not necessarily imply immediate death. On the contrary, he describes Judas as living on after the betrayal and cites Acts 1:18 and Papias to witness and corroborate the truth of his statement.

The Itala, as preserved for us by St. Augustine,⁵³ unites the two accounts into one verse. It reads as follows: "Hic ergo possedit agrum de mercede injustitiae suae, et collum sibi alligavit, et dejectus in faciem, disruptus est medius, et effusa sunt omnia viscera ejus." The text of the Itala, therefore, attempts to reconcile the two divergent readings of Matthew and Acts by running them together in one verse. It is not improbable that the phrase "collum sibi alligavit" may represent the ἀπῆγξατο of Matthew.⁵⁴

⁴⁶ Lightfoot, J., *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Acta Apostolorum* (Opera Omnia), on Acts 1:18, Vol. 2, p. 690.

⁴⁷ Cfr. Waltonus, *Biblia Polyglotta*, Vol. 4, p. 41.

⁴⁸ Cited by Calmet, A., *In Evangelium S. Matthaei* (Commentarius Literalis in Omnes Libros V. et N. Testamenti), on Mt. 27:5, Vol. 8, p. 157.

⁴⁹ Calmet, A., *loc. cit.*; cfr. also Le Camus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 414, note.

⁵⁰ Edersheim, A., *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 575, note 3.

⁵¹ Josephus, *The Jewish War*, III, viii, 5, ed. Loeb, nos. 369-78, pp. 678-682.

⁵² Haugg, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁵³ S. Augustinus, *De Actis cum Felice Manichaeo*, I, 4, MPL 42, 522.

⁵⁴ Lake, K., *op. cit.*, p. 26.

The Greek of Matthew denotes the general term usually employed to describe suicide by strangulation;⁵⁵ the text of the Itala here is more specific and describes in greater detail the manner chosen to effect the termination of Judas' life. A parallel construction, wherein the expression ἀπήγατο is employed in the O.T., is found in 2 Kgs. 17:23, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπήγατο. Kirsopp Lake⁵⁶ finds in St. Matthew a literary influence traceable to the LXX.

What is the opinion of Catholic exegetes apropos of Mt. 27:5? Do they consider the Matthaean account as complete in itself? The majority of them regard the tradition contained in his Gospel as only partial, the rest to be supplied from the information Luke gives in the Acts of the Apostles. Thus, Fillion⁵⁷ is of the opinion that Acts 1:18 supplements Mt. 27:5. Jacquier⁵⁸ holds the same opinion. In the opinion of Buzy,⁵⁹ the Latin "suspensus" of Acts is influenced by Mt. 27:5. Vosté⁶⁰ assures us that both accounts are substantially the same, for it was not the purpose of the Evangelists to give a detailed account of the death of Judas but principally to emphasize the tragic character of the death. For Calmet⁶¹ the more probable opinion appears to be that Judas, driven to despair, hanged himself with a halter. Later, his body was removed from the tree upon which it was suspended, cast upon the ground and left unburied till sunset.⁶² In the meantime, due to suffocation, either his bowels gushed out, or his bowels

⁵⁵ Prat, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 550; Lagrange, M. J., O.P., *Évangile selon Saint Matthieu* (Études Bibliques), on Mt. 27:5, p. 514; Fillion, L. C., S.S., *La Sainte Bible*, Vol. 7, p. 180.

⁵⁶ Lake, K., *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁵⁷ Fillion, L. C., S.S., *loc. cit.*

⁵⁸ Jacquier, E., *Les Actes des Apôtres*, on Acts 1:25, p. 34.

⁵⁹ Buzy, *op. cit.*, on Mt. 27:7, Vol. 9, p. 364.

⁶⁰ Vosté, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

⁶¹ Calmet, A., *In Evangelium S. Matthaei* (Commentarius Litteralis in Omnes Libros V. et N. Testamenti), on Mt. 27:5, Vol. 8, pp. 157-58; *In Acta Apostolorum*, on Acts 1:18, Vol. 9, p. 422.

⁶² Calmet bases his argument chiefly on the custom of not burying the bodies of suicides until sunset, as given by Josephus, *Jewish War*, III, viii, 5, ed. Loeb, no. 377, p. 682. The Law, however, is silent on the subject of suicides, although bodies of criminals hanging on gibbets were to be buried before sunset of the same day.—Deut. 21:22-23; Jos. 8:29; 10:27.

were torn open by dogs that roamed about in search of prey. That both Evangelists agree in affirming the tragic character of his death but differ only in the details, is the opinion of Breen.⁶³ Le Camus⁶⁴ is not in favor of a harmonization that would base itself solely on the N.T. records, but rather urges us to unite the traditions of Matthew, Luke and Papias in order to form a complete picture of the tragedy that ensued. Knabenbauer⁶⁵ confirms the general opinion that Matthew reproduces the first and Luke the second phase of the story. Lépiciér⁶⁶ interprets Mt. 27:5 as the fulfillment of Ps. 34:8, to which Peter (Acts 1:18) is said to have made an allusion.

2. Harmonization of Acts 1:18

It is not outside the realm of possibility⁶⁷ to suppose that Judas hanged himself on a tree overlooking a deep precipice. The halter or the branch of the tree might have become loose so that he was hurled down to his death. The text of the Vulgate on Acts 1:18 seems to suggest strongly that such may have been the actual case, "suspensus crepuit medius." The text of the Itala likewise appears to favor such an interpretation. The "collum sibi alligavit" probably represents the ἀπήγγεστο of Matthew; and "dejectus in faciem," the Greek πρηνὴς γενόμενος. Nevertheless, St. Jerome, the redactor of the Vulgate, did not think this to be the proper translation of πρηνὴς γενόμενος. Whatever Greek the "collum sibi alligavit" may represent in the Itala, nevertheless it is understood and rendered by St. Jerome to mean "suspensus." Breen⁶⁸ and Jacquier⁶⁹ warn us that the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in Acts 1:18 is incorrectly understood by the translator of the Vulgate, since the old Latin texts,

⁶³ Breen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 447.

⁶⁴ Le Camus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 414.

⁶⁵ Knabenbauer, J., S.J., *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), on Mt. 27:5, I, 2, p. 497.

⁶⁶ Lépiciér, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 76. In the old Georgian Version on Mt. 27:5, a variant adds: "et mortuus est" after "et abiit et strangulavit se."—Blake, R. P., *The Old Georgian Version of the Gospel of Matthew*, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, Vol. 24, Latin Translation, p. 156.

⁶⁷ Maldonatus, J., *op. cit.*, on Mt. 27:5, Vol. 2, p. 366.

⁶⁸ Breen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 447.

⁶⁹ Jacquier, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

d e p,³ have "pronus factus." There is no evidence either in profane or biblical Greek to warrant the translation of the Vulgate,⁷⁰ where the meaning given to the Greek expression invariably signifies "to fall headlong" or "to become prostrate."⁷¹ The observation of Breen and Jacquier is further corroborated by the reading of the Syriac, Ethiopic and Arabic versions. Thus, the Latin interpretation of the Syriac⁷² reads: "et cecidit in faciem suam humi, et crepuit per medium sui, et effusa sunt omnia viscera ejus;" the Ethiopic:⁷³ "et projectus fuit in terram super faciem suam, et disruptum fuit latus ejus, et effusa sunt omnia viscera ejus;" the Arabic:⁷⁴ "et cadens prostratus in faciem suam, crepuit medius, et effusa sunt viscera ejus universa."

Theophylactus⁷⁵ enlarges upon the words of St. Luke and quotes a tradition that Judas lived on for some time after the betrayal. He is anxious to maintain that such is the meaning of the Lucan *πρηγῆς γειόμενος*. The chief features of his explanation are as follows. After Judas had applied the halter around his neck, the tree that supported his weight is said to have inclined, and he escaped death. This is said to have been a providential act on the part of God Who wished either to bring the traitor to repentance or to set him as a memorial of perpetual reproach before all mankind. During the rest of his sojourn on earth, Judas suffered with dropsy, his body swelling up continually so that a place where a cart could easily pass through was too narrow for him. His corpulence finally overtook Judas. He fell headlong (*πρηγῆς πεσών*) upon the ground and his bowels gushed out.

The Armenian⁷⁶ text of the Vulgate substitutes *πρησθείς* for *πρηγῆς*. It reads in translation: "Being swollen up he burst in the middle and all his bowels were poured out." A quotation in the

⁷⁰ Cfr. Josephus, *The Jewish War*, VI, i, 6, ed. Loeb, no. 64, p. 394; Wis. 4:19; 3 Mach. 6:23.

⁷¹ Stephanus, H., *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 7959.

⁷² Waltonus, B., *Biblia Polyglotta*, Vol. 5, p. 518.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 519.

⁷⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁷⁵ Theophylactus, *Enarratio in Evangelium Matthaei*, cap. XXVII, 3-5, MPG 123, 459.

⁷⁶ Cfr. Jacquier, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Lake, K., *op. cit.*, p. 27.

Armenian catena on Acts⁷⁷ endeavors to harmonize the text of Luke:

Accordingly he (i.e., Peter) describes also the sentence which he suffered. "Being swollen," he says, "he burst in the middle and all his bowels were poured out." He does well to relate not the offence, but the punishment, in order to the comforting of those who were afraid of the Jews.

But that he fell on the earth and burst and his bowels gushed out, is like this. For he shut the doors against himself before he strangled himself, and he remained there on the gibbet the Friday and the Saturday. When he had swollen up and grown heavy, the cord was cut by which he hung; he fell, burst asunder, and was poured out. But the stench of the putrifying head and of his guts brought together the children of Jerusalem to come and view his infamous end, and the awful sign which was for him the precursor of hell-fire.

The meaning of *πρηνής γενόμενος* can be further clarified by its usage in the LXX (Wis. 4:19). It reads: *ρήξει αὐτοὺς ἀφώνους πρηνεῖς*. The corrector⁷⁸ of the Codex Vaticanus added on the margin *ἐπὶ πρόσωπον* (suggestive of "dejectus in faciem" of the Itala). The Vulgate renders the same text by "disrumpet illos inflatos sine voce," which is not a correct translation; for the context suggests that *πρηνεῖς* cannot mean "inflatos." The translator probably read the word wrongly and took it for an adjective, from the verb *πρήθειν*.⁷⁹ A translation which would include the marginal note, "he shall burst them prostrate and silent," would not only yield a better meaning, but also would be in conformity with the original.⁸⁰

Another attempt at harmonization may be found in a scholion attributed to Eusebius,⁸¹ the substance of which may be summarized briefly. The cord with which Judas hung himself is said

⁷⁷ Translated and cited by F. C. Conybeare, "On the Western Text of the Acts as Evidenced by Chrysostom," in *AmJPhil*, Vol. 17 (1896), p. 150.

⁷⁸ Cfr. Wis. 4:19, ed. Swete.

⁷⁹ Cornely-Zorell, *Commentarius in Librum Sapientiae* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), pp. 168-69, note.

⁸⁰ Lake, K., *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁸¹ Matthaei, C. F., (editor) *Novum Testamentum*, Vol. 5, p. 304.

to have given way. Thereupon, he fell to the ground but did not die instantly. His bowels were poured out, however, as a result of the fall. A day or two later, Judas, falling out of his bed, terminated his life by a further and fatal effusion of the viscera.

Another interesting tradition is incorporated in the writings of Isho'dad of Merv:⁸²

This, "He fell upon his face on the earth and burst asunder," etc. But they say that when Judah hanged himself, either he was loosened from the rope and escaped; or someone saw him and liberated him; and this was by Divine Providence; first, that the Disciples might not be accused of having hanged him or of other things, for it was right that when he had betrayed (Jesus) in public he should also die in public; that therefore he lived and saw the Resurrection of our Lord; and he heard that He had come many times to His Disciples, and that He had ascended to Heaven, and afterwards when many were gathered together, he (Judah) fell on the earth, in the middle of the city, "and burst asunder."

The testimony of Denis Bar Salibi⁸³ is of importance in bringing out the tradition current in the Syrian Church.

Et proiecit pecuniam in templum; h.e. contendit cum eis multum ut acciperent eam, sed non sumpserunt eam; ipse autem iratus proiecit eam in templum et egressus est. Et abiit, strangulavit seipsum. Matthaeus ita dixit; Lucas autem scripsit in Actibus: Crepuit per medium suum et diffusa sunt omnia viscera eius; et ambae acciderunt: strangulatio et disruptio, et quisque evangelista de una scripsit. Postquam enim pecuniam in templum proiecit, abiens collum in laquem inseruit in silva Arundinum; et occurrerunt quidam transeuntes qui viderunt eum suspensum et solverunt eum antequam strangu-

⁸² Gibson, M. D., (editor), *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv* (Horae Semiticae, no. X), Vol. 4, Acts of the Apostles and Three Catholic Epistles in Syriac and English, p. 6. Cfr. also Harris, J. R., "Did Judas Really Commit Suicide?" in *AmJTh*, Vol. 4 (1900), p. 495.

⁸³ Dionysius Bar Salibi, *Commentaria in Evangelia*, on Mt. 27:5, CSCO, Scriptores Syri, Versio, Series Secunda, Vol. 99, pp. 82-83. See further Harris, J. R., "Did Judas Really Commit Suicide?" in *AmJTh*, Vol. 4, (1900), p. 501.

laretur. Alii: Laqueus ruptus est, et post aliquot dies in morbum cecidit et intumuit ita ut plastrum non posset portare eum, et exturbavit caput eius, et palpebrae oculorum eius intumuerunt ita ut non videret. Epiphanius dicit: Vixit post crucifixionem quadraginta diebus, et disruptus est per medium et diffusa sunt omnia viscera eius. Alii: ex morbo mortuus est, nec sepelierunt eum quia omnem, qui strangulaverat seipsum, non sepelebant. Quapropter putruit et causa fuit vexationis et molestiae incolis pagi; hi autem coacti sunt eum ex illo feretro auferre; cum autem illud levarent sursum, cecidit et crepuit et diffusa sunt omnia viscera eius. Lucas autem in Actibus (1:20): Fiat habitatio eius deserta; h.e. postquam sepeliverunt eum, odor putridus qui efflabat de domo eius molestus erat incolis pagi, et continuo diruerunt domum a fundamentis et abstulerunt inde terram et lapides, et ita habitatio eius seu Iscariot facta est deserta nec habitata fuit. Domus autem eius in Jerusalem erat.

In view of the various traditions concerning the death of Judas, is it possible to admit that *πρηνὴς γενόμενος* is associated with suicide or a swollen condition of the body? Sigwalt⁸⁴ renders ἀπ' ἑξαιτίας by "to commit suicide," in order to facilitate agreement with Luke's account. Accordingly, his translation reads: "Judas committed suicide by casting himself into the depth." In J. Rendel Harris' opinion,⁸⁵ the reading "and he swelled up and burst asunder" is not a conjectural but rather a correct translation, whose traces may be found in the oldest of the outlying Eastern versions. Knox⁸⁶ suggests a "transposition of μέσος and πρηνὴς in the account, whether we choose to consider the error that of Luke or of his scribe." Wherefore, it would tend to "solve at once almost all linguistic difficulties." Holzmeister⁸⁷ offers two explanations for the "fall" of Judas: first, that the earthquake which shook Jerusalem on Good Friday caused it; or secondly, that

⁸⁴ Sigwalt, C., "Eine andere Erläuterung von dem Besitzer des Blutackers," in *BZ*, Vol. 9 (1911), p. 399.

⁸⁵ Harris, J. R., "St. Luke's Version of the Death of Judas," in *AmJTh*, Vol. 18, (1914), pp. 127-31.

⁸⁶ Knox, A. D., "The Death of Judas," in *JThSt*, Vol. 25 (1924), p. 290.

⁸⁷ Holzmeister, U., S. J., "Die Passionsliteratur der letzten 6 Jahre (1909-1914)," in *ZKTh*, Vol. 39 (1915), p. 337.

his body fell to the ground when the people failed in the attempt to take it down from the tree. Belser⁸⁸ solves the difficulty by explaining the purpose of Peter. It was not his express intention to enlarge upon the details concerning the final end of Judas, for his fellow Apostles were fully informed on this point. But by calling their attention to the tragic character of the death, St. Peter intended to emphasize the events which followed the fall. The pouring out of the bowels was actually an additional punishment inflicted by God on the corpse of the traitor. Haugg⁸⁹ subscribes to a similar opinion. Although Prat⁹⁰ favors harmonization of Matthew and Acts, he entertains, nevertheless, the supposition that Judas may have survived the fall. Hence, the betrayer hanged himself upon a tree overlooking a precipice which bordered on a valley. The branch or the cord was loosened so that his body was hurled down upon the sharp rocks below, producing the result described in Acts. Prat⁹¹ is also of the opinion that the two verses in Acts (1:18-19) comprise a single parenthesis, for they disturb the continuity of Peter's discourse which would make sense without Luke's insertion. The third Evangelist is known to introduce explicative parentheses in the discourses he reports, e.g., Acts 1:15; 9:12; 10:29-31. The key to the solution finally is to be sought in the harmonized text of the Itala.⁹² Cornelius a Lapide⁹³ assures us that the swollen condition of Judas may have been very likely either a consequence of the strangulation or a punishment inflicted by God. Maldonatus⁹⁴ offers an altogether different explanation. The firmness of the cord caused his body to swell to such an extent that it produced an effusion of the bowels. All who commit suicide are said to become inflated while in the state of suspension.

⁸⁸ Belser, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

⁸⁹ Haugg, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

⁹⁰ Prat, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 420, 553.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 551.

⁹² *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 552.

⁹³ A Lapide, Cornelius, *In Acta Apostolorum* (Commentaria in Scripturam Sacram), on Acts 1:18, Vol. 17, p. 68.

⁹⁴ Maldonatus, *op. cit.*, on Mt. 27:5, Vol. 2, p. 366.

3. *The Fragment of Papias*

Much of the difficulty is centered around the fragment of Papias. A note to the translation of the works of Euthymius Zigabenus⁹⁵ rejects this particular fragment attributed to Papias, saying, "Nititur haec tota res fabulosa et tragica narratione Papias, hominis nugacis ac nullius fidei. Nec enim ἐξηγήσεως ille, sed μύθους scripsit." Knabenbauer⁹⁶ agrees with this observation. According to Prat,⁹⁷ the legends on the death of Judas that were in circulation during the first centuries, only prove the great repugnance of the early Christians had for the ignominious death of the betrayer of the Lord, just as one finds sermons expressing wonderment and horror today. George Cedrenus⁹⁸ supports the tradition of Papias. The accord with which the narrative of Papias was received by the early Christians is not endorsed by Michael Glyca,⁹⁹ for a profounder investigation reveals that this fragment is a lying distortion of the words of Peter. If, according to this fabulous narrative, Judas had survived the fall and lived on for some time, St. Peter would not have made this statement in the Cenacle at this point. He would, very likely, have postponed the pronouncement to some later period. Whittaker,¹⁰⁰ in a brief communication to *The Expository Times*, confines himself to saying that the account of Papias is trustworthy.

The third account of the death of Judas, which is taken here into consideration, was handed down to us by Papias.¹⁰¹ Although this work is no longer extant, we are indebted to Apollinarius of Laodicea¹⁰² for the preservation of this fragment. He gave us

⁹⁵ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentarius in Matthaeum*, 27, MPG 129, 705, note.

⁹⁶ Knabenbauer, J. S. J., *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), on Mt. 27:5, I, 2, p. 497.

⁹⁷ Prat, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 420.

⁹⁸ Georgius Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium*, MPG 121, 384.

⁹⁹ Michael Glyca, *Epistola* XVII, MPG 158, 904-08.

¹⁰⁰ Whittaker, F. R., "The Fate of the Traitor," in *ExpT*, Vol. 23 (1912), p. 478.

¹⁰¹ Papias flourished during the third generation of Christians, i.e., about 125 A.D.

¹⁰² Lake, K., *op. cit.*, p. 23.

two versions of the story. In the catena on Matthew,¹⁰³ Judas is reported to have survived the fall. His body was swollen to such an extent that he could not pass where a wagon could pass easily. The traitor met his death by the crushing of a wagon, and this is thought to account for the Lucan statement "and his bowels gushed out." In the catena on the Acts of the Apostles,¹⁰⁴ more gruesome particulars have been added, but with this difference that here the wagon is mentioned by way of comparison and it is not stated that the traitor was crushed by it. Apollinarius confounds *πρηνής* with *πρησθείς* and employs the words indiscriminately.

Recently, F. H. Chase¹⁰⁵ has set down his views in a scholarly contribution on the meaning of these terms. He maintains that Papias certainly based his story upon Acts 1:18, but denies that *πρηνής* here signifies "falling headlong," for the second member of the phrase, *γενόμενος*, would thus become unintelligible. The correct reading, in such a case, should have been *πρηνής πεσών*. A "falling headlong" would not constitute a sufficient reason for the pouring out of his bowels. Thereupon, Chase advances his own explanation. *Πρηνής* here is to be regarded as a medical term, meaning "swollen," resulting in an unusual inflammation of the body. In medical terminology *πρηνής γενόμενος* is a technical phrase used of a condition by which the body of an individual becomes inflamed. St. Luke is said to have actually employed *γενόμενος* in this sense in Acts 7:32; 10:10; 12:23. In view of the tradition of Papias, Chase concludes that *πρηνής γενόμενος* is a medical term equivalent to *πρησθείς*. Harnack¹⁰⁶ expresses his adherence to Chase's view and concludes that the account of the death of Judas in Acts is apparently an excerpt from a previously existing legend. The original legend was quite independent of the report of Matthew, but may very likely have been the source for the narrative of Papias. The explanation given by Chase is now supported by

¹⁰³ See note 38.

¹⁰⁴ See note 38.

¹⁰⁵ Chase, F. H., "On *ΠΡΗΝΗΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ* in Acts 1:18," in *JThSt*, Vol. 13 (1912), pp. 278-85; "Note on *πρηνής γενόμενος* in Acts 1:18," in *JThSt*, Vol. 13 (1912), p. 415. See also Jacquier, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

¹⁰⁶ Harnack, A., in *ThLit*, Vol. 37 (1912), pp. 235-37.

Nestle,¹⁰⁷ Harris,¹⁰⁸ Goodspeed,¹⁰⁹ Moffat,¹¹⁰ Camerlynck and Heeren.¹¹¹

The contention of Chase is based upon the interpretation of the term as given by Zonaras and Euthymius Zigabenus. The former,¹¹² in his lexicon, defines the phrase to mean "he went headlong, inflated." The latter¹¹³ associates *πρηνής γενόμενος* with the notion of "swelling": "After living for a short while in a certain secret place, falling headlong or being cast down, inflated, burst asunder, (Judas) was poured out in the middle."

The Acts of Thomas¹¹⁴ are next invoked by Chase in support of his theory. A serpent is said to have swelled up, burst and died: *ὁ δὲ δράκων φυσηθεὶς ἐλάκησεν καὶ ἀπέθανεν, καὶ ἐξεχύθη αὐτοῦ ὁ ἰὼς καὶ ἡ χολή*. Although this Greek text employs different verbs to express the idea contained in Acts 1:18, nevertheless it does not prove that *φυσηθείς* means *πρηνής*, nor that *ὁ ἰὼς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ χολή* is the same as *τὰ σπλάγχνα*. The only similarity is found in the use of the word *ἐλάκησε*.¹¹⁵

Another proof that Chase advances is taken from the description of the death of Arius according to St. Athanasius.¹¹⁶ The

¹⁰⁷ Nestle, E., "Zum Schicksal des Verräters," in *ZNtW*, Vol. 19 (1919-20), pp. 179-80; "The Fate of the Traitor," in *ExpT*, Vol. 23 (1912), pp. 231-32.

¹⁰⁸ Harris, J. R., "St. Luke's Version of the Death of Judas," in *AmJTh*, Vol. 18 (1914), pp. 127-31.

¹⁰⁹ Smith-Goodspeed, *The Complete Bible*, an American Translation, on Acts 1:18.

¹¹⁰ Moffatt, J., *The New Testament*, A New Translation, on Acts 1:18.

¹¹¹ Camerlynck, A., and Heeren, A. V., *Commentarius in Actus Apostolorum*, on Acts 1:18, p. 111.

¹¹² Cited by Lake, K., *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹¹³ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentaria in Matthaeum*, 27, MPG 129, 705.

¹¹⁴ Acta Thomae, 33, in Adelbertus, R., et Bonnet, M., *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Vol. 2, p. 150. Cfr. the English version of the Acts of Thomas, translated by M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 380: "but the serpent being swelled up, burst and died, and his venom and gall were shed forth."

¹¹⁵ Cfr. Lake, K., *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹¹⁶ S. Athanasius, *Epistola ad Serapionem de Morte Arii*, 3, MPG 25, 688: "Then Arius entered a latrine in order to ease nature and rather unexpectedly, as it is written, having fallen headlong, he burst asunder, and having fallen over, he immediately gave up the ghost."

account reads: ὁ δὲ Ἄρειος . . . εἰσῆλθεν εἰς θάλασσαν ὡς διὰ χρεῖαν τῆς γαστρὸς, καὶ ἐξαίφνης κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, πρηγὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε μέσος, καὶ πεσὼς εὐθὺς ἀπέψυξεν. It is to be pointed out that St. Athanasius did not understand πρηγὴς γενόμενος as equivalent to πρησθεῖς, for he elucidates the quotation by πεσών which has a kindred signification, "falling over."¹¹⁷

Thus, it is argued that the words used by Luke betray medical phraseology which from habit and training a physician would be more apt to employ. Henry J. Cadbury writes: "But there is no case of πρηγὴς meaning swollen quoted from the medical or even non-medical writers. If that is its meaning in Acts, it is doubtless a popular meaning due to association with the verbs from a like root, πιμῶσθαι (Acts 28:6) and πρήθω, rather than a technical one."¹¹⁸ For A. D. Knox this theory is not linguistically tenable.¹¹⁹ According to Kirsopp Lake,¹²⁰ it cannot be concluded that πρηγὴς γενόμενος is a medical term, for there are no instances of this meaning in Greek writers. It is true that in medical works the participle γενόμενος is employed in connection with various other diseases, but from this it does not follow that it affects the meaning of πρηγὴς in Acts 1:18. "In fact it seems as though Dr. Chase had forgotten that it is impossible to prove both that πρηγὴς is a medical term and also that it is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον."¹²¹

Which of these traditions most likely agrees with the actual event? Are we to maintain that possibly one of these is the original? Or are we to reconcile the three? Or, finally, are we to reject them as fictitious inventions of the popular mind? Catholic commentators are agreed in proposing the Matthaean and Lucan account as correct. Considering the date in which their respective narratives were set down in writing, it would be a legitimate inference to maintain that both Evangelists supplement each other. St. Matthew wrote his Gospel between 42 and 50 A.D., while St. Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles about

¹¹⁷ Lake, K., *op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹¹⁸ Cadbury, H. J., "Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts," in *JBLit*, Vol. 45 (1926), pp. 192-93.

¹¹⁹ Knox, A. D., "Death of Judas," in *JThSt*, Vol. 25 (1924), pp. 289-90.

¹²⁰ Lake, K., *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

63 A.D. Papias flourished during the third generation of Christians or about the year 125 A.D. The Evangelists, therefore, were closer to the actual event, and consequently their account is historical and trustworthy. On the other hand, Papias, further removed in point of time from the suicide of Judas, was probably influenced by popular tradition which was anxious to make Judas Iscariot die a death suitable for a traitor. Stories, similar to the gruesome details described by Papias, were not altogether unknown in biblical and extra-biblical records. In Num. 5:21ff, the inflammation of the womb was the punishment inflicted on an unfaithful wife. An imprecation, in Ps. 28:24, is directed against those who are wilfully obstinate: "Let their eyes be darkened that they see not." King Antiochus met with a wretched end and died unrepentant (2 Mach. 9:5-29). Tradition also records violent deaths similar to that of Judas, such as the death of Herod the Great,¹²² Catullus, governor of Cyrene,¹²³ and Nadan.¹²⁴ But the claim that the Evangelists modelled themselves upon the story of Nadan or that the story of the death of Judas is purely a legendary imitation of the fictitious Nadan¹²⁵ cannot be proven. So irrecoverably is truth lost in a number of legendary stories that probably "there was a loose tradition of the way in which the death of a traitor ought to correspond to his offence. One writer put in one detail, the next added another, until finally nearly all had been incorporated."¹²⁶

At best, Matthew and Luke agree in assigning a violent death to Judas. They supplement each other by placing an additional

¹²² Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, XVII, vi, 5, ed. Hudson, Vol. 2, pp. 768-69.

¹²³ Josephus, *The Jewish War*, VII, xi, 4, ed. Loeb, nos. 451-53, pp. 630, 632.

¹²⁴ Conybeare and others, *The Story of Ahikar*, The Story of Haiqar and Nadan, Arabic Version, translated by Agnes Lewis Smith, p. 118: "And when Nadan heard that speech from his uncle Haiqar, he swelled up immediately and his legs and his feet and his side and he was torn and his belly burst asunder and his entrails were scattered and he perished and died." The antiquity of this story is well attested and is believed to have been known ca. 450-400 B.C.

¹²⁵ Harris, J. R., "Did Judas Really Commit Suicide?" in *AmJTh*, Vol. 4 (1900), p. 490.

¹²⁶ Lake, K., *op. cit.*, p. 30.

detail. The full details of the manner of Judas' miserable end will forever remain a matter of conjecture.¹²⁷

The legendary character of the fragment of Papias, however, does not impair his undisputed authority with regard to his testimony on the authorship of the Gospels. It was his prime purpose to guarantee the truth of his statements by scrupulously instituting a personal inquiry with the Elders as to the discourses of the Lord, and as to what each Apostle or disciple of the Lord had said. Furthermore, Papias concludes that he did not so much profit from the contents of the books as from the oral testimony of a living and abiding voice.¹²⁸ Apart from this, Eusebius remarks that Papias recorded other notices as having come down from oral tradition, such as certain strange parables and teachings of the Savior, and some other statements of a rather mythical character.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Breen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 447.

¹²⁸ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, xxxix, ed. Loeb, no. 4, p. 292.

¹²⁹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, xxxix, ed. Loeb, no. 11, p. 294.

CHAPTER XI

ETERNAL LOT OF JUDAS ISCARIOT

THE ATTENTION Judas received from the Son of God surely should have gained for him an exalted position in His heavenly kingdom. That would be the only conclusion we could expect, were nothing else known of him. But the crime of Judas was foreseen and predicted in the O.T., and Christ chose him with this full knowledge that the Scriptures might be fulfilled.¹ The predictions of the Word of God could not fail in order that the eternal plan of Redemption might be carried out. Since the O.T. and the N.T. were implicitly against Judas, can one, therefore, assume that the betrayer of the Lord was placed under necessity to commit the crime and consequently to lose his soul? Can it be equally maintained that the "greater sin" (Jn. 19:11) of Judas Iscariot was irremissible? Lest we give assent to a hasty conclusion, we shall at first examine the prophecies of the O.T. as well as the denunciatory utterances of Christ against Judas.

A. O.T. PROPHECIES

St. Matthew (26:24,56; 27:9) emphasizes the revealed will of God concerning the attending circumstances of the Passion and Death of Christ. St. Mark (14:21) refers to the terrible fate awaiting the betrayer. Although St. Luke does not mention the prophecies explicitly, his *κατὰ τὸ ὀρισμένον* (22:22) is substantially the same.² Finally, the fourth evangelist also mentions the prophecies (Jn. 13:18; 17:12). Now, the prophecies concerning the inevitable certainty of the betrayal and the terrible lot awaiting the criminal thereof are contained in Zach. 11:12; Ps. 40:10; 54:14-15; 68:26; 108:6-17). The last Psalm, because it brings out in awful relief a detailed account of the betrayal, is com-

¹ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *De Prophetiarum Obscuritate*, I, 4, MPG 56, 171.

² Haugg, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

monly known as the "Judas Psalm." Some would have Psalm 108 to refer, in its primary and literal sense, to David's own enemies, viz., Doeg the Idumean, Achitophel, Absalom, Semei and others; and only in its secondary and typical sense do they interpret it of Christ, the Jews and Judas.³ Others⁴ regard this Psalm as prophetic of Judas, even in its primary sense.

It is to be noted here that in Ps. 108 the greater part of the verbs, which in the LXX and the Vulgate are in the optative mood, are in the original Hebrew in the future tense. The Hebrew imperfect can also serve the function of a future and an optative.⁵ Even if we assumed that the imprecations were directed against David's enemies, yet there is no Scriptural evidence to show that what is set down in this Psalm was ever verified literally in the case of Doeg, Achitophel, Absalom and Semei. It is true that Achitophel (2 Kgs. 17:23), Absalom (2 Kgs. 18:9) and Semei (3 Kgs. 2:46) died by their own hand or in battle. Yet, withal, their wickedness was upon their own heads, for it is not written that their families were involved in their fate. In like manner, the Scriptures remain silent about the death of Doeg (1 Kgs. 22). All the woeful denunciations pro-

³ Boylan, P., *The Psalms*, Vol. 2, pp. 216-17; Pope, H., O.P., "The 'Comminative' Psalms, and Psalm 108 (109 Heb.) in Particular," in *Eccle Rev.*, Vol. 44 (1911), p. 306: "And because St. Peter (Acts 1:20) saw in this Psalm and in Ps. 68 a type of Judas it does not follow that the Psalm itself was prophetic of him, though it does follow that under its literal sense it was typical of him."

⁴ MacDonald, A., "Deus Laudem Meam Ne Tacueris (Psalm 108)," in *Eccle Rev.*, Vol. 44 (1911), p. 730; Bird, T. E., *A Commentary on the Psalms*, Vol. 2, pp. 228-30; Bellarminus, R., *Explanatio in Psalmos*, in *Supplementum ad Commentaria in Scripturam Sacram* R. P. Cornelii a Lapide, Vol. 2, p. 244; Calmet, A., *Commentarius in Psalmos* (Commentarius Litteralis in Omnes Libros V. et N. Testamenti), Vol. 5, p. 264; Knabenbauer, J., S.J., *Commentarius in Psalmos* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), p. 388; Pannier, E., *Les Psaumes* (La Sainte Bible), Vol. 5, pp. 439-40; Zorell, F., S.J., *Psalterium ex Hebraeo Latinum* (Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici), pp. 198-200; Zorell, "Ps. 108 'Deus Laudis meae,'" in *V.D.*, Vol. 1 (1921), pp. 166-73; Zorell, "Psalm 108/109 'Deus laudem meam,'" in *ZKTh*, Vol. 37 (1913), pp. 414-21; Calès, J., S.J., *Le Livre des Psaumes*, Vol. 2, p. 337.

⁵ Gesenius-Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, par. 47a Note.

nounced in Ps. 108 cannot apply to them, and the imprecations sown throughout this Psalm are to be regarded as pointing to what is yet future, viz., as prophecies, not as positive wishes.⁶

The authentic witness to the interpretation of Ps. 108 is Christ⁷ and St. Peter.⁸ After Christ and the Apostles, the authentic interpreter of the Scriptures is the infallible authority of the Church. The interpretation of the Church is further made secure through the unanimous teaching of the Fathers of the Church.⁹ Now, the consensus of the holy Fathers, both Greek and Latin, favors a prophetic interpretation of the "Judas Psalm." Thus, St. Chrysostom¹⁰ begins by saying that, despite the fact that this Psalm may appear to be replete with comminative imprecations directed apparently against David's enemies, nevertheless it is to be understood as a prophecy in the form of positive wishes. The author of the "Breviarium in Psalmos,"¹¹ wrongly attributed to St. Jerome, observes that the Hebrew imperfect can also serve the duty of a future, subjunctive, optative and imperative. From the inscription of the Psalm, "In finem," so argues the author of the "Breviarium in Psalmos," it is to be concluded that the Royal Psalmist is speaking not of the present but of some distant future period. If it is predicated of the future, Ps. 108 is prophetic of Christ, the Jews and Judas. St. Augustine¹² declares that anyone who applies supreme diligence in reading the Acts of the Apostles, especially Acts 1:15-26, will readily see a clear reference to an ancient prophecy uttered by David (Ps. 108). Despite its clarity this Psalm, however, offers a serious difficulty; for the manner of expression seems to

⁶ MacDonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 728, 733.

⁷ Jn. 13:18; 17:12. Christ applies Ps. 40:10 and 108:8.

⁸ Acts 1:16,20. St. Peter alludes to Ps. 40:10; 68:26 and 108:8.

⁹ Pope Leo XIII, Encyclical Letter, "Providentissimus Deus," in *E. B.*, nos. 93, 96.

¹⁰ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *Expositio in Psalmum*, CVIII, MPG 55, 258-60.

¹¹ *Breviarium in Psalmos*, CVIII, MPL 26, 1155.

¹² S. Augustinus, *Enarratio in Psalmos*, CVIII, MPL 37, 1431 and 1434-35.

imply that the terrible imprecations are pronounced principally against David's own enemies. Thereupon, St. Augustine draws a distinction between a positive wish and a prophecy. He concludes that prophecies, in the form of an imprecation, speak of the evils of an individual or a people as foretelling the evils of a future date. Ps. 108 found its complete fulfillment in Judas Iscariot. For Eusebius¹³ Ps. 108, in its literal sense, is a prophecy of Judas and of the enemies of Christ. In like manner, Theodoret¹⁴ sees in this Psalm a clear prophecy of the Passion of our Lord, the rage of the Jews and the betrayal; for such was the interpretation given by Peter in his discourse on Judas (Acts 1:15-26). Notwithstanding the vindictive spirit displayed by an inspired writer, it cannot be said to detract from the sacred character of a prophecy. There exists a radical difference between imprecations uttered with evil intent and imprecations uttered with righteous intent. The former are proscribed both in the O.T. and the N.T.; the latter proceed from the mouth of holy men. David, therefore, does not wish that evil may overtake his enemies; he merely prophesies the coming punishment of Judas and the enemies of Christ. In his introductory note to the exposition of this Psalm, Euthymius¹⁵ declares that the Royal Psalmist assumes here the person of an accuser and weaves a prophecy which deals with the evils that await the future betrayer and his accomplices. The prophecy is put in the form of a curse. But such is the common mode of expression with the prophets and many like instances are to be found in the Scriptures. St. Athanasius,¹⁶ St. Prosper,¹⁷

¹³ Eusebius, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, lib. X, MPG 22, 717-52; *Commentaria in Psalmos*, CVIII, MPG 23, 1334-42.

¹⁴ Theodoretus, *In Psalmos*, CVIII, MPG 80, 1754; cfr. also S. Augustinus, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, XVI, 22, MPL 42, 330.

¹⁵ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentarius in Psalmos*, CVIII, MPG 128, 1071. Cfr. also S. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, 2, 2ae, q. 25, a. 6, ad 3. The Angelic Doctor defines the various forms of imprecations to be found in the Inspired Writings: (a) prophecies in the form of a curse; (b) positive wishes with reference to the justice of the punisher, not the desire of punishing a sinner; (c) positive wishes with reference to the removal of sin, and not the punishment itself.

¹⁶ S. Athanasius, *Expositio in Psalmos*, CVIII, MPG 27, 455-62.

¹⁷ S. Prosperus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, CVIII, MPL 51, 311.

Arnobius the Younger,¹⁸ Cassiodorus¹⁹ and Didymus²⁰ also favor a Messianic interpretation of Ps. 108.

1. Fulfillment of the Prophecies

Ps. 40:10

"For even the man of my peace, in whom I trusted, who ate my bread, hath greatly supplanted me."

Judas is said to have eaten the parting morsel given to him by Christ during the Passover meal. As a trusted disciple, he betrayed his Master.—Mt. 26:23; Mk. 14:20; Jn. 13:26.

Ps. 54:14-15

"But thou a man of one mind, my guide, and my familiar, Who didst take sweetmeats together with me: in the house of God we walked with consent."

The same. "One mind," i.e. preached the Gospel of Christ, healed the sick, cast out devils; "my guide," i.e., steward of the Apostolic band; "my familiar," i.e. an Apostle and constant companion.

Ps. 68:26

"Let their habitation be made desolate."

St. Peter (Acts 1:19) quotes this passage in connection with the purchase of the Field of Blood.

Ps. 108:6

"Set thou the sinner over him; and may the devil stand at his right hand."

Prompted by the devil, Judas betrayed Christ and was selected leader of those who arrested Him.—Acts 1:16.

Ps. 108:7

"When he is judged, may he go out condemned; and his prayer be turned to sin."

Judas received no consolation from the priests to whom he returned the money. They scorn his repentance.—Mt. 27:4. Judas is called the "son of perdition" by Christ Himself.—Jn. 17:12.

Ps. 108:8

"May his days be few; and his bishopric let another take."

Seized by despair, Judas commits suicide.—Mt. 27:5; Acts 1:18. He is replaced by Matthias.—Acts 1:26.

¹⁸ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, CVIII, MPL 53, 493.

¹⁹ Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalterium*, CVIII, MPL 70, 782.

²⁰ Didymus Alexandrinus, *Expositio in Psalmos*, CVIII, MPG 39, 1538.

Ps. 108:9

"May his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow."

Although there is no mention made in the N.T. of his family, the majority of the exegetes understand the passage of the enemies of Christ. The treacherous Jews were driven out from their homes during the sack of Jerusalem by the Romans.

Ps. 108:10

"Let his children be carried about vagabonds, and beg; and let them be cast out of their dwellings."

The same. A graphic description of the sufferings experienced by the Jews during the destruction of Jerusalem.

Ps. 108:11

"May the usurer search all his substance: and let strangers plunder his labors."

Josephus describes the horrible nemesis that befell those who attempted to swallow gold coins and jewels, lest they should fall into the hands of the conquerors.—The Jewish War V, x, 1, ed. Loeb, no. 421; and V, xiii, 4, no. 550.

Ps. 108:12

"May there be none to help him: nor none to pity his fatherless offspring."

The cheerless reply of the priests.—Mt. 27:4.

Zach. 11:12

"And they weighed for my wages thirty pieces of silver."

"But they counted him thirty pieces of silver."—Mt. 26:15; also Mt. 27:9.

B. N.T. INDICATIONS OF THE ETERNAL LOT OF JUDAS

There are certain implicit indications recorded in the N.T. that point to the horrible nemesis awaiting the betrayer, namely, eternal damnation. The words, in which the decree of everlasting separation are enshrined, are the most forceful ever pronounced by Christ Himself. The first woe is delivered in the Cenacle during the course of the Passover meal. "The Son of Man indeed goes his way, as it is written of him; but woe to that man by whom the Son of Man is betrayed! It were better for that man if he had not been born" (Mt. 26:24; also Mk. 14:21; Lk. 22:22). In

the sacerdotal prayer of Christ the following words are uttered: "Those whom thou has given me I guarded; and not one of them perished except the son of perdition, in order that the Scripture might be fulfilled" (Jn. 17:12). Finally, the last indication that points to the eternal reprobation of Judas is placed in the mouth of the Eleven Apostles, who prayed for divine enlightenment before choosing a man worthy to replace the betrayer: "Thou, Lord, who knowest the hearts of all, who which of the two thou has chosen to take the place in this ministry and apostleship from which Judas fell away to go to his own place" (Acts 1:24-25).

1. Interpretation of Mt. 26:24 and Parallels

When the oft-repeated warnings of Christ failed to attain their desired effect, a beautiful contrast is drawn by the Savior in which He places Himself in direct antithesis to the betrayer. The predictions of the O.T. spoke both of Christ and of Judas. The Son of Man, however, submitted Himself freely to the fulfillment of these prophecies. Judas Iscariot, on the other hand, influenced by the suggestions of the devil, resorted to the extreme of betraying the Son of Man. Yet, withal, both helped to realize the divine plan of Redemption by playing their respective rôles in it. However, the One returned to His Father; while the other lost his soul by apostasy.²¹

The original Greek on Mt. 26:24 reads: οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἐκείνῳ, δι' οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται· καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος. The emphatic ἐκείνῳ points to the unique character of this tremendous sin and guilt.²² This *woe*, however, is to be regarded not as a malediction²³ but rather as a lament, for the context

²¹ Fillion, L. C., S.S., *The Life of Christ*, Vol. 3, p. 389.

²² Denis Buzy (*op. cit.*, on Mt. 26:26, Vol. 9, p. 345), following Jouon, thinks that the ἐκείνῳ in this verse has no emphatic value, but merely functions as a relative pronoun. This explanation cannot be sustained, for what possible value could be given to the following phrase δι' οὗ? A. T. Robertson (*op. cit.*, p. 707) classifies it as a demonstrative pronoun—and rightly so—and declares it to be a contemptuous use of it in view of the change from οὗτος of v. 23.

²³ So Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, in Evangelia, 151, MPL 198, 1617.

shows that it is a warning to Judas.²⁴ By it the awful punishment is foretold, and at the same time an appeal is made to Judas, so that the very thought of the torments awaiting the criminal might deter him from carrying out the proposed betrayal.²⁵ Moreover, this threatening declaration displays the complete freedom with which Judas was allowed to consummate the crime.²⁶ Christ, indeed, was eager for his conversion, but as the warning went unheeded, Judas alone must bear the whole guilt. There is ample reason to believe that Judas was not essentially ignorant as to the Divinity of Christ, for the Master intentionally calls Himself the Son of Man. But because of his obstinate unbelief, the irremediable doom of excruciating torments of hell is pronounced upon him. The false disciple is singled out for special punishment, for this unique woe will carry far-reaching effects. The rest will sit in judgment over the twelve tribes of Israel, while the author of the crime will depart from this life by way of self murder and lose his soul forever.

"It were better for that man if he had not been born." The *αὐτῷ* is manifestly a hebraism and a repetition of the subject, referring back to *ἐκείνῳ*.²⁷ It is to be noticed here that a condition contrary to fact takes the negative *οὐ* in direct contradistinction to the classical usage of *μή*.²⁸ This entire phrase is considered a hebraism by J. Lightfoot,²⁹ being a common expression employed by the Talmudists. In a similar strain, Allen³⁰ remarks that the verse is peculiarly Semitic both in construction and idea, and

²⁴ Lagrange, M. J., O. P., *Évangile selon Saint Marc* (Études Bibliques), on Mk. 14:21, p. 377; Pirot, *op. cit.*, on Mk. 14:21, Vol. 9, p. 573.

²⁵ S. Hieronymus, *Commentaria in Evangelium Matthaei*, lib. IV, cap. XXVI, on Mt. 26:24, MPL 26, 194; Knabenbauer, J., S., J., *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), I, 2 on Mt. 26:24, p. 431.

²⁶ Plummer, A., *Gospel according to St. Luke* (International Critical Commentary), on Lk. 22:22, p. 500.

²⁷ For instances of emphatic repetitions, compare Gen. 2:19; 13:16; Ex. 35:5; Jer. 37:8; 2 Kgs. 6:4. See further, Allen, *op. cit.*, on Mt. 26:24, p. 275.

²⁸ Blass, F., *op. cit.*, p. 254.

²⁹ Lightfoot, J., *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Euangelium Matthaei* (Opera Omnia), on Mt. 26:24, Vol. 2, p. 378.

³⁰ Allen, *op. cit.*, on Mt. 26:24, p. 275.

gives a quotation from the Babylonian Talmud: "It were better for him if he had not come into the world." Regarding the coming judgment of the wicked, the author of the *Book of Enoch*³¹ writes: "It has been good for them if they had not been born."

May we, therefore, apply a similar line of interpretation to the words uttered by Christ? There are two possible meanings that may be deduced from the text. The first would regard it as a decree of eternal damnation and consequently a preclusion of all hope of salvation. The second would view it merely as a threat of punishment, e.g., suicide consequent upon the despair produced by the betrayal. Now, since these words would not be strictly true, if Judas had ever reached the eternal delights of the beatific vision, a great number of exegetes understands this text as an implicit prophecy of eternal damnation.³² St. Jerome³³ begins his exposition of the text by rejecting the supposition that Judas' soul existed separately prior to his conception, and that he would have been happier if he remained in that state. Existence itself offers a certain measure of happiness. In the case of Judas, the predicted punishment will be so great that he himself will prefer non-existence to a miserable existence. Because of his obduracy and unrepentant heart, he had treasured up for himself wrath on the day of wrath (Rom. 2:5). Euthymius³⁴ declares that it would have been better for Judas to have died in the womb of his mother than to have survived in order to endure the eternal

³¹ Book of Enoch 28:2, in Charles, R. H., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Vol. 2, p. 209.

³² Cfr. S. Thomas Aq., *Expositio in Sanctum Iesu Christi Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*, cap. 26, pp. 234-35; Calmet, A., *In Matthaeum* (Commentarius Litteralis in Omnes Libros V. et N. Testament), on Mt. 26:24, Vol. 8, p. 153; A. Lapeyre, *Commentaria in Matthaeum* (Commentaria in Scripturam Sacram), on Mt. 26:24, Vol. 15, p. 553; Knabenbauer, J., S. J., *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), on Mt. 26:24; I, 2, pp. 430-31; Maldonatus, *op. cit.*, on Mt. 26:24, Vol. 2, p. 280; Fillion, *op. cit.*, Col. 3, pp. 383, 389; Maas, *op. cit.*, on Mt. 26:24, pp. 266-67; Callan, C. J., O. P., *The Four Gospels*, on Mt. 26:24, p. 172.

³³ S. Hieronymus, *Commentaria in Evangelium Matthaei*, lib. IV, cap. 26, MPL 26, 194.

³⁴ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentarius in Matthaeum*, on Mt. 26:24, MPG 129, 662. Comp. Ecclus. 23:19, Lk. 23:29.

torments of hell. For Theophylactus³⁵ a strict interpretation of the passage seems to be this: essentially it were better for Judas not to live at all than to remain in sin. Although St. John Chrysostom elsewhere³⁶ is very clear in placing Judas in the abode of the damned, yet he gives a very mild interpretation to Mt. 26:24. Thus, Christ does not speak here with invective but rather with compassion. At the same time, Judas' subsequent shamelessness was deserving of His utmost indignation.³⁷ St. Thomas Aquinas³⁸ argues that *in se* existence is to be preferred above all else, for it contains the possibility of attaining the beatific vision. *Per comparisonem ad aliud*, e.g., the crime of Judas, non-existence is better than a miserable existence. Now, if it were better for Judas not to exist at all, why did God permit him to be born? According to the wisdom of Ecclesiastes (7:30), "God made man right." Only through his own negligence and obduracy Judas turned traitor and in consequence thereof merited for himself the full measure of a just punishment.³⁹ Buzy⁴⁰ invokes the authority of Bossuet⁴¹ for the meaning of the text. According to him, it were better for Judas not to have been born at all, for his existence would serve only to make his misery everlasting. Judas, therefore, was born for eternal punishment. According to Marchal,⁴² Christ here threatens Judas with the consequences attending the execution of his perfidious resolution.

This passage certainly shows that it would become the wish of Judas to undo his birth and annihilate his existence in order to avert the reproach and mockery of his fellow countrymen. This wish was fulfilled in his suicide. But that which is here

³⁵ Theophylactus, *Enarratio in Evangelium Matthaei*, on Mt. 26:24, MPG 123, 443.

³⁶ Especially in his two homilies on "The Betrayal of Judas," in MPG 49, 373-82; 381-92.

³⁷ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Matthaeum*, hom. LXXXI (al. LXXXII), 2, MPG 58, 732.

³⁸ S. Thomas Aq., *op. cit.*, cap. 26, p. 235.

³⁹ Maldonatus, *op. cit.*, on Mt. 26:24, Vol. 2, pp. 281-2.

⁴⁰ Buzy, *op. cit.*, on Mt. 26:24, Vol. 9, p. 345.

⁴¹ Bossuet, *Méditations sur L'Évangile* (Oeuvres choisies de Bossuet), La Cène, 20e jour, Vol. 3, p. 55.

⁴² Marchal, L., *op. cit.*, on Lk. 22:22, Vol. 10, p. 258.

uttered is different from the anguish and transitory despondency which prompted Job (3:11) and Jeremias (15:10; 20:14) to curse the day of their birth. Judas betrayed the true Son of God. He, therefore, could not escape punishment for the "greater sin" (Jn. 19:11), since the traitor never displayed a sign of true repentance in this life.⁴³ The sin as such was not irremissible. Christ foresaw that Judas by his own voluntary act would remain in his final impenitence. Forgiveness was still possible at this point, even if matters had reached this extreme. Since Judas wilfully repelled the influence of divine grace, he alone incurred the consequences of sin.⁴⁴

2. Interpretation of Jn. 17:12

With calm solemnity Jesus prays: ὅτε ἤμην μετ' αὐτῶν, ἐγὼ ἐτήρουν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ᾧ δέδωκάς μοι, καὶ ἐφύλαξα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ.

Between the Father and the Son there exists an absolute degree of understanding (Jn. 6:28; 10:30). The Son protected the Apostles from bodily and spiritual danger in His Father's name. Jesus now renders back all whom the Father had given Him, save Judas Iscariot. For Judas this special protection became inefficacious, despite the large measure of grace he had received, his holy call to the Apostolate and the privilege of having had enjoyed the personal example of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity. With utmost sorrow, Jesus is compelled to admit that He has lost this man.⁴⁵ Judas was doomed not through the lack of grace, but through his own volition (comp. Eccclus. 15:14). His own perversity and contempt for divine assistance brought on him the state which the Evangelist narrates. Salvation, therefore, is the free choice of man.⁴⁶

St. Augustine⁴⁷ observes that the protection here mentioned is

⁴³ Calmet, A., *In Evangelium S. Matthaei* (Commentarius Litteralis in Omnes Libros V. et N. Testamenti), Vol. 8, on Mt. 26:24, p. 153.

⁴⁴ Breen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 143.

⁴⁵ Braun, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 18:9, Vol. 10, p. 454.

⁴⁶ Calmet, A., *In Evangelium S. Joannis* (Commentarius Litteralis in Omnes Libros V. et N. Testamenti), on Jn. 17:12, Vol. 8, p. 388.

⁴⁷ S. Augustinus, *In Joannis Evangelium*, tract, CVII, 6, MPL 35, 1914.

not to be understood in a material sense, as a soldier is wont to guard another, but rather in a spiritual sense, according to the meaning of Jn. 14:13-14, where it is stated that the Father hears the prayers of all those who seek His assistance through the Son.

Ἐτήρουν . . . ἐφύλαξα. The tenses mark respectively the continuous action of watching and its completed result.⁴⁸ The difference between the verbs themselves appears to be that the former expresses the meticulous regard and protection of that which is looked upon as capable of loss, e.g., Mt. 27:36; the latter describes the precautionary measure taken against spiritual danger, e.g., 2 Thess. 3:3; Jude 24.⁴⁹ In Wis. 10:5, both verbs are used of protection of the just man.

There is a textual difference between the Greek and the Vulgate reading in this as well as in the preceding verse. The Vulgate renders the Greek ϕ by "quos," which would postulate ϕ s in the original. Accordingly, the reading, in translation, should be as follows: "I kept them in thy name which thou hast given me, and I guarded." However, there is a strong probability in support of the Vulgate as the more correct reading. If the Greek preserves the better reading, the relative ϕ , in that instance, is attracted into the dative of the preceding noun ($\delta\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\iota$). On the basis of the model furnished by Father MacRory⁵⁰ for Jn. 17:11, the probable meaning of Jn. 17:12 is: I have kept them in Thy name, in the knowledge of Thee, which Thou hast given Me, and which I in turn have given to them, and I guarded (them).

"And not one of them perished." The apostasy of Judas reached its consummation when he left the Upper Room (Jn. 13:30). Jesus is represented here by the Evangelist as speaking of Judas' miserable end, as if it were already in the past (comp. Jn. 6:55,71). On the other hand, reference to the tragic fate is

⁴⁸ Lagrange, M. J., O. P., *Évangile selon Saint Jean* (Études Bibliques), on Jn. 17:12, pp. 445-46; MacRory, J., *The Gospel of St. John*, on Jn. 17:12, p. 287.

⁴⁹ Westcott, B. F., *The Gospel according to St. John*, on Jn. 17:12, Vol. 2, p. 251.

⁵⁰ MacRory, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 17:11-12, pp. 287-88; cfr. also Lépiciér, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 516.

peculiarly omitted in Jn. 6:39; 10:28; 18:9. Bernard⁵¹ discusses this unusual omission of St. John and concludes that according to the standpoint of the Evangelist there was no question of Judas having been doomed to the eternal torments. For that reason John does not concern himself with a particular mention of Judas' guilt in these passages.

Εἰ μὴ in this verse as well as elsewhere (Mt. 24:36; Mk. 13:32; Lk. 4:26; 4:27; Gal. 1:19; 2:16; Apoc. 21:27) is resolved simply into ἀλλά, *only*, or *but only*. It does not necessarily introduce an exception to what precedes.⁵²

"The son of perdition" is a hebraism,⁵³ having the same meaning as "a son of hell" mentioned in Mt. 23:15. The phrase occurs elsewhere in 2 Thess. 2:3 where it is used of the prince of evil who will appear in the world. He is the veritable Antichrist. It does not concern us here to discuss in detail the Antichrist of St. Paul. Nevertheless, it suffices to note that St. Paul points to the antigodlike nature of the man described. The same expression is found in the *Book of Jubilees*, used of those who perished in the Deluge.⁵⁴

The Lord does not name the lost one, for Judas has been

⁵¹ Bernard, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 17:12, Vol. 2, pp. 570-71. In regard to Jn. 6:39, the context speaks of the unbelief of the Jews. Here Christ reproves them and declares that those who believe in Him will gain eternal life. There was no necessity of putting Judas into prominence at this point. Cfr. MacRory, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 6:36-40, pp. 110-11. As to Jn. 10:28, the text is general, directed to all the faithful. Nonetheless, personal guilt is strongly asserted, for all who fail to coöperate with divine grace, shall perish through their own fault. This would also include Judas, although in a very general way. Cfr. MacRory, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 10:27-28, pp. 174-75. Finally, Jn. 18:9. At this point Judas was no longer considered an official member of the Apostolic College, or as St. Augustine declares, a member of the elect. The chief concern of Christ was to protect the faithful Apostles from physical and spiritual danger during the few remaining hours of His life. It refers solely to the safety of the Eleven Apostles, excluding Judas Iscariot. MacRory, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 18:9, pp. 298-9; S. Augustinus, *Contra Litteras Petiliani*, II, xxii, 50, MPL 43, 275-76.

⁵² Stier, R., *The Words of the Lord Jesus*, Vol. 6, p. 477.

⁵³ Lagrange, M. J., O. P., *Évangile selon Saint Jean* (Études Bibliques), on Jn. 17:12, p. 446; MacRory, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 17:12, p. 288.

⁵⁴ The Book of Jubilees, 10:3, in Charles, R. H., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Vol. 2, p. 28.

already sufficiently indicated by John (comp. Jn. 13:18), where a prophecy is cited (Ps. 40:10; 108:8).⁵⁵

The Greek word for *perdition*, ἀπωλεία is the substantive of the verb just mentioned, ἀπώλετο. Bernard⁵⁶ sees in this passage a play on words. Hence, the solemn repetition of the cognate words in the original cannot be adequately reproduced in translation ("And not one of them perished but only the son of the perishing").

Perdition means the state or condition of being lost, and implies the certainty of it in consequence of one's own guilt. The irresponsiveness of Judas to the divine teaching of Christ made it a certainty that he would perish.⁵⁷ St. Augustine⁵⁸ renders the phrase by "perditioni predestinatus," and cites Ps. 108:8 in support of it. Isho'dad of Merv⁵⁹ comments that perdition means: "the end of Judas is perdition."

Ἀπολλύναι, *to perish*, is placed in direct contrast with *to possess eternal life* (Jn. 10:28). It is the word in the N.T. used of losing one's own soul (e.g., Mt. 10:28; Jn. 3:16).⁶⁰ Despite this accepted meaning, the same word in Mt. 10:28 and Mk. 14:4 appears to express the "waste" of the ointment. Wherefore, this led Tasker⁶¹ to suggest that Jesus probably had this incident in mind when he called Judas υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, so that the veritable rendition of the phrase is "the waster." In view of the identical phrase occurring elsewhere, our present interpretation is simpler and more correct.⁶² The immediate context, especially the presence of a cognate word (ἀπώλετο), forbids any other meaning.

The peculiar Semitic construction, the Hebrew *bēn* followed

⁵⁵ Lagrange, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 17:12, p. 445.

⁵⁶ Bernard, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 17:12, Vol. 2, p. 571.

⁵⁷ Braun, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 17:12, Vol. 10, p. 449; MacRory, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 17:12, p. 228; Lépicier, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 515.

⁵⁸ S. Augustinus, *In Joannis Evangelium*, tract. CVII, 7, MPL 35, 1914.

⁵⁹ Gibson, M. D., edited and translated by, *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv*, Vol. I, *Translation* (Horae Semiticae no. V), p. 274.

⁶⁰ Bernard, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 3:16, Vol. 1, p. 118; *ibid.*, on Jn. 17:12, Vol. 2, p. 571.

⁶¹ Tasker, J. G., "Judas Iscariot," in *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (Hastings), Vol. 1, p. 909.

⁶² Bernard, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 17:12, Vol. 2, p. 571.

by a noun, involves the note of what is asserted afterwards as a special characteristic belonging to that individual. Thus, we read in 2 Kgs. 12:15 of "a son of death," which signifies that death for him is certain. In Is. 57:4, *yil^edēy peša'* is rendered by the LXX as τέκνα ἀπωλείας; in Ecclus. 16:9 (Vg. 16:10) ἔθνος ἀπωλείας means a nation marked for certain destruction. In the N.T., we have υἱὸς γεέννης "son of hell" (Mt. 23:15) υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπειθείας "unbelievers" (Eph. 2:2); but also υἱὸς εἰρήνης "son of peace" (Lk. 10:6) and τέκνα ὑπακοῆς "obedient children" (1 Pet. 1:14). Hence, the preceding word "son" characterizes the quality or destiny of an individual so described. In Jn. 17:12, the υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, therefore, denotes the impossibility of salvation and the attribution of Judas' own guilt, as in 2 Thess. 2:3 "man of sin" precedes as the fundamental reason of the perdition. The eternal lot of Judas is identical with sin, for ἀπωλεία is equivalent to the Hebrew *peša'* of Is. 57:4, the technical word in the O.T. used of personal sin.⁶³

Ἴνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ. The final ἵνα denotes the consequence of his previous obduracy and ingratitude, and for that reason the fulfillment of the Scriptures cannot fail.⁶⁴ According to Calmet,⁶⁵ the final particle does not impute the cause of Judas' fall to the will of God; rather, it implies the miserable end of Judas who by his final impenitence caused his own ruin. The Scripture here indicated is Ps. 40:10 which was cited before (Jn. 13:18), and Ps. 108:7, "when he is judged may he go out condemned." The γραφὴ in the Gospel of St. John refers to a specific passage in the O.T.⁶⁶ Bernard⁶⁷ doubts the authenticity of the last portion of this verse on the grounds that the words could be very likely either a personal comment of the Evangelist on the prayer of Christ which he just narrated, or the exact words of Jesus Himself. In an identical passage mentioned in Jn. 18:9, there is no appeal to an O.T. prophecy. Hence, it is concluded by him

⁶³ Stier, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, pp. 477-78.

⁶⁴ MacEvilly, *An Exposition of the Gospel of St. John*, on Jn. 17:12, p. 321.

⁶⁵ Calmet, A., *In Evangelium S. Joannis* (Commentarius Litteralis in Omnes Libros V. et N. Testamenti), on Jn. 17:12, Vol. 8, p. 388.

⁶⁶ Compare Jn. 2:17; 7:38,42; 10:35; 13:18; 19:24,28,36,37. See further, Bernard, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 3:22, Vol. 1, p. 97 and on Jn. 17:12, p. 571.

⁶⁷ Bernard, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 17:12, Vol. 2, p. 571.

that it is probably "a reflective gloss or comment added by the evangelist or an early editor." Although the words in 18:9 are cited from the present passage, yet it cannot be maintained that they militate against a correct reading. The context must be taken into due consideration. Judas at this point severed all relations with Christ and His Apostles, and consequently the words refer to the past. Reference to the Scriptures was no longer necessary. All that St. John intends to describe here is that even in the act of surrendering Himself, the Good Shepherd wishes to protect His remaining faithful disciples from physical and spiritual danger. It is a fulfillment of the promise which Jesus made a few hours before in His prayer to the heavenly Father.⁶⁸

3. Interpretation of Acts 1:25

The pertinent words in the original Greek are: ἀφ' ἧς παρέβη 'Ιούδας πορευθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον; the Vulgate reads: ". . . ut abiret in locum suum." The phrase does not occur elsewhere in the N.T., except in Mt. 26:52 where Christ commands Peter to put back the sword into its place. In Eccus. 12:12, the phrase is used of social position or dignity. Outside of the Bible, the expression may be found in the *Shepherd of Hermas*,⁶⁹ spoken of the unseemly stones to be taken away and to be brought down to their own place.

Acts 1:25 has been variously interpreted. The majority of the exegetes understand it in the pejorative sense: Judas went "to his own place," i.e., to the abode of the damned. Others, again, understand it to mean the place where Judas is said to have committed suicide, or that this text does not necessarily imply descent to the infernal regions.

Crelrier⁷⁰ assures us that "to go to one's own place" was a very common phrase in the early centuries of the Christian era. It had a decidedly after-death meaning, i.e., the soul going either to

⁶⁸ MacRory, *op. cit.*, on Jn. 18:9, p. 298.

⁶⁹ *The Shepherd of Hermas*, Sim. IX, iv, 7, ed. Loeb, p. 228; Sim. IX, v, 4, ed. Loeb, p. 230; Sim. IX, xii, 4, ed. Loeb, p. 250.

⁷⁰ Crelrier, H. J., *Les Actes des Apôtres* (La Sainte Bible avec Commentaires), Vol. 17, p. 45.

heaven or to hell. He cites Num. 24:25 and St. Ignatius to corroborate his contention. In Num. 24:25, it is written that Balaam arose and "returned to his place" (lim^eqōmō), namely, hell. John Lightfoot⁷¹ also understands it in this sense, and adds by quoting from the Midrash Coholeth that the friends of Job are not said to have come each from his own house, city or country but rather each came from his own place (hell). St. Ignatius⁷² speaks of two alternatives that are set before mortal man: death and life, or eternal misery and eternal happiness. After our physical death, each mortal shall go to his own place (εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον). Here "to his own place" has a final connotation without having a pejorative meaning. It simply means that each individual will go to the place assigned to him by the eternal decree of God. Death (hell) will be the punishment for disobedience; while life (heaven) will be the reward for the observance of God's precepts.

That the words ἴδιος τόπος may be used in a good or bad sense is plain from the works of other early Christian writers. According to St. Clement of Rome⁷³ St. Peter went to his deserved place of glory: ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης. Paul is said to have gone to a holy place (heaven): καὶ εἰς ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη.⁷⁴ After having exhorted the faithful to exercise all patience in adversities, St. Polycarp⁷⁵ presents the examples of Blessed Ignatius, Zosimus, Rufus, Paul and the rest of the Apostles as models worthy of imitation, for they are now in their due place: καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰσι παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ. As a just reward for having suffered martyrdom in testimony of Christ's teaching, they have been brought into the presence of the Lord.

⁷¹ Lightfoot, J., *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Acta Apostolorum* (Opera Omnia), on Acts 1:25, Vol. 2, p. 690.

⁷² *The Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians* V, in Lightfoot, J. B., *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part 2, Vol. 2, Sect. 1, pp. 116-17: 'Ἐπεὶ οὖν τέλος τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, καὶ πρόκειται τὰ δύο ὁμοῦ, ὃ τε θάνατος καὶ ἡ ζωὴ, καὶ ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον μέλλει χωρεῖν.

⁷³ *The Epistle of S. Clement to the Corinthians* V, in Lightfoot, J. B., *op. cit.*, Part 1, Vol. 2, pp. 26-27.

⁷⁴ *The Epistle of S. Clement to the Corinthians* V, in Lightfoot, J. B., *op. cit.*, Part 1, Vol. 2, p. 31.

⁷⁵ *The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians*, IX, in Lightfoot, J. B., *op. cit.*, Part 2, Vol. 2, Sect. 2, p. 922.

Oecumenius⁷⁶ offers two explanations for the meaning of the phrase. "His own place" means either the place where Judas committed suicide or it may have reference to Matthias. After Judas apostatized, his place, according to the plan of God, was due to Matthias, i.e., Matthias' own place. Such an interpretation does violence to the text, for the phrase "to his own place" definitely refers to "Judas."

Theophylactus⁷⁷ argues that the word "place" may well signify "the rôle we play in society." Every man, he proceeds to say, fashions for himself a place in this life, and that, either through his good or bad actions. Thus, man by his good actions may attain in society the place of a leader, such as a bishop, priest or any other responsible position; or he may through his own bad actions become a false teacher, a false prophet, a tyrant. Wherefore, Judas by his inordinate desire for money assumed the rôle of a traitor.

Menochius,⁷⁸ Gordonius⁷⁹ and Reuss⁸⁰ understand the original Greek *παρέβη πορευθῆναι* to mean "aberravit ire, aberravit a via, seu stadio vocationis suae." The phrase as such does not imply death, much less descent to hell. The passage simply states, according to their view, that Judas has separated himself from his colleagues, or that he has overstepped or transgressed the holy office of the Apostleship entrusted to him by the Lord. Cornelius a Lapide⁸¹ remarks that, were this the case, we should expect the form *παρεξέβη*.

Jacquier⁸² is of the opinion that *εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον*, as such, does not imply the descent of Judas to the abode of the damned. The words may well indicate reserve on the part of Peter in speaking of the fate of Judas, when he referred to him above

⁷⁶ Oecumenius, *Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum*, cap. II, on Acts 1:25, MPG 118, 61.

⁷⁷ Theophylactus, *Expositio in Acta Apostolorum*, I MPG 125, 528.

⁷⁸ *Biblia Sacra cum selectissimis litteralibus Commentariis Variorum*, Actus Apostolorum, Vol. 25, pp. 16-17.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁸⁰ Reuss, E., *Histoire Apostolique*, Actes des Apôtres, p. 42.

⁸¹ A Lapide, Cornelius, *Acta Apostolorum* (Commentaria in Scripturam Sacram), Vol. 17, p. 71.

⁸² Jacquier, E., *op. cit.*, p. 41.

(Acts 1:16). Yet, withal, Peter was obliged to express the general belief that Judas was consigned to suffer eternal torments. Jacquier concludes that it is possible to admit that Peter wished to designate the new position the traitor had chosen for himself. The qualifying τὸν ἴδιον placed after τὸν τόπον indicates that the place was of Judas' own choosing. Similarly, Haugg⁸³ argues that the final destiny of Judas is so dreadful that Peter refrains from any characterization of the traitor's eternal lot. The gravity of his betrayal was recognized, but no attempt was made to locate or to describe that "place." The preceding cognate expression τὸν τόπον τῆς διακονίας is contrasted with εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον, a place due to him as a just punishment for the betrayal.

Calmet⁸⁴ employs a syllogism to explain the passage in Acts. Judas was called by Christ the son of perdition. The place or perdition is hell, whereunto all the wicked of this earth are consigned as a result of their sins. Judas, an unrepentant sinner, therefore, is decidedly in hell. John Lightfoot⁸⁵ also believes that Judas Iscariot lost his soul; for he, who betrays a fellow Israelite into the hands of the Gentiles, has no part in the future world. *A fortiori*, Judas who betrayed the true Messiah of Israel is forever excluded from His Kingdom.

The most common opinion views this text as indicating the infernal regions. The clause "ut abiret" of the Vulgate expresses a consecutive relation, i.e., the consequence of Judas' betrayal.⁸⁶ "To his own place" is equivalent to "eternal damnation," or the place which Judas prepared for himself by his final impenitence. It is understood in this sense by Crelier,⁸⁷ Camerlynck and Heeren,⁸⁸ Fillion,⁸⁹ MacEvilly⁹⁰, Cornelius a Lapide,⁹¹ Haugg⁹²

⁸³ Haugg, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁸⁴ Calmet, A., *Acta Apostolorum* (Commentarius Litteralis in Omnes Libros V. et N. Testamenti), on Acts 1:25, Vol. 9, p. 423.

⁸⁵ Lightfoot, J., *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Acta Apostolorum* (Opera Omnia), on Acts 1:25, Vol. 2, pp. 690-91.

⁸⁶ MacEvilly, *An Exposition of the Acts of the Apostles*, p. 12.

⁸⁷ Crelier, H. J., *op. cit.*, Vol. 17, p. 45.

⁸⁸ Camerlynck et Heeren, *Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum*, p. 113.

⁸⁹ Fillion, L. C., S. S., *La Sainte Bible*, on Acts 1:25, Vol. 7, p. 618.

⁹⁰ MacEvilly, *loc. cit.*

⁹¹ A Lapide, Cornelius, *op. cit.*, Vol. 17, p. 72.

⁹² Haugg, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

and many others. The commentators who interpret *εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἰδιον* of hell, do so not in virtue of the expression itself but in view of other passages (Mt. 26:24; Jn. 17:12). They likewise repeat the conviction of St. Bernard⁹³ who wrote that "heaven could not receive Judas nor could the earth bear him on her surface."

The passage in Acts 1:25, as such, is very indefinite. It neither tells us where Judas went nor what his lot was after he went to that place. All that may be gathered from the text is that this "place" was of his own choosing. It may have been that those present were well aware of his eternal lot, but did not deem it proper at this point to express the conviction that lay in their hearts. Why should this tragedy disturb the Eleven in their sacred business of choosing a successor? Possibly, the maxim "De mortuis nil nisi bonum" might have been the attitude regulating the speech of Peter and inspiring the prayer of the Eleven.

Judas was lost, but even his apostasy found a place in the scheme of divine Providence. The world is ruled by God in coöperation with the free activity of free human individuals. According to Jewish and Christian theology, one becomes a son of heaven or a son of hell by free choice, not by nature nor by predetermination. Since Judas failed to profit by the abundant opportunities placed before him by Christ, he himself sustained the full measure of personal guilt. Jesus was kind toward him and endeavored to dissuade him from the proposed betrayal on numerous occasions. He preferred to remain in his final impenitence which, however, served God in His plan for the Redemption of mankind.⁹⁴

Corluy⁹⁵ advances more convincing arguments concerning the inevitable rôle Judas played in the divine scheme of Redemption. The prophecy of his certain perdition was infallible. Apparently,

⁹³ S. Bernardus, *In Psalmo Qui Habitat*, sermo VIII MPL 183, 215: ". . . hujus, inquam, proditorem, nec coelum reciperet, nec terra sustineret."

⁹⁴ Huby, J., S. J., *Le Discours de Jésus après la Cène*, p. 136; Lagrange, M. J., O. P., *Évangile selon Saint Jean* (Études Bibliques), on Jn. 17:12, p. 446.

⁹⁵ Corluy, J., S. J., *Commentarius in Evangelium S. Joannis*, on Jn. 17:12, p. 458.

the false disciple did not perish through the want of care Christ was obliged to manifest toward him; he perished that the Scriptures might be fulfilled. Since the Father Himself made the prediction, He therefore exonerated the Son from all blame. In an absolute sense, Christ was capable of preserving Judas from the foreseen fall, e.g., by granting him the necessary graces; in a relative sense (*simpliciter*), Christ could not oppose the will of His Father (Jn. 14:31) Who had simply permitted the tragic end of the Apostle.

Had not Judas despaired, he would have been saved regardless of treason, "the greater sin" (Jn. 19:11). According to the doctrine of St. Augustine,⁹⁶ it was not the crime itself but the final impenitence of Judas that made salvation impossible. The Apostle, consequently, was not deserving of divine mercy and forgiveness, such as was granted to the executioners of Christ. By his despair and suicide, he precluded forever the effectual operation of grace. As his body suffered a self-imposed death, the same is said to apply with reference to his soul. The sin was great indeed, but the mercy of God is greater. Now, he who despairs of divine mercy suppresses the consolation of the Holy Spirit. St. Leo the Great⁹⁷ declares that Judas, by his despair and suicide, denied the Omnipotence of God and refused to revoke his crime by the slightest sign of true contrition. He was, therefore, deservedly consigned to the everlasting torments of hell, even though the mercy of God was willing to open for him the gates of salvation. The same line of thought on the mercy of God is equally developed by St. John Chrysostom.⁹⁸

These passages, therefore, are implicit prophecies of Judas' eternal reprobation.

⁹⁶ S. Augustinus, *Sermones*, sermo 352, no. 8, MPL 39, 1558-59; *Enarratio in Psalmum*, 146, no. 20, MPL 37, 1912-13.

⁹⁷ S. Leo Magnus, *Sermones*, sermo LIV (LII), 3, de Passione Domini 3, MPL 54, 320; sermo LVI (LIV) 3, de Passione Domini 5, MPL 54, 327-28; sermo LII (L) 5, de Passione Domini 1, MPL 54, 316.

⁹⁸ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *De Poenitentia*, hom. 1, 3, MPG 49, 282.

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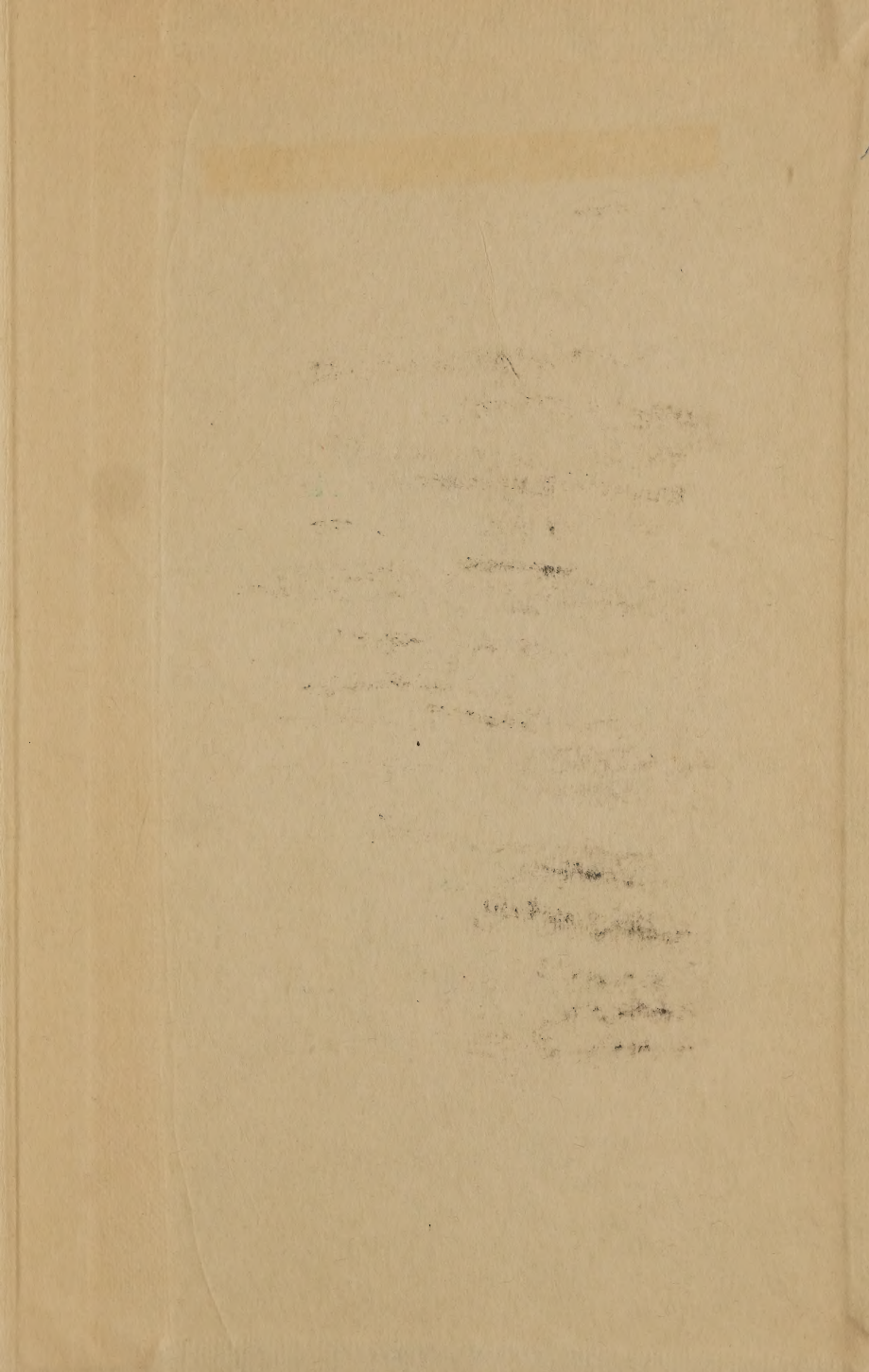
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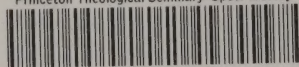
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